Selections from the

History of the Armenians

Attributed to Movses of Xoren

Translated from Classical Armenian
by Robert Bedrosian

For Beyon Miloyan

Available at Internet Archive as an attachment to the Classical Armenian text, here

This translation is in the public domain. It may be copied and distributed freely.
Books 1 and 2 published on the Internet, 2024; Book 3, 2025.

Translator's Preface
A Note on Pagination
Additional Resources

Table of Contents

The following Table of Contents was created for the convenience of readers and is not part of the Armenian text.

Book One

Genealogy of Greater Armenia

1. Movses replies to his patron, Sahak Bagratuni, praising his wisdom in supporting the writing of a book about Armenian antiquities. None of the princes and nobles before Sahak had the foresight to do such a thing. Movses promises to reveal the ancient history of Sahak's glorious Bagratid family along with the histories of the other Armenian clans.

2. Although the Persians and Chaldeans have many books which recount details of Armenian history, Movses will take mostly from Greek authors. This includes Greek translations of the Chaldean author Berosus. Movses considers Greek historical writing more precise and better than Mesopotamian and Persian accounts.

3.

> Criticism of the lack of interest in Armenian antiquities shown by the first kings and princes of the Armenians. Movses reveals that the Armenians *did* record some of their affairs in Persian and Greek, but that no one had collected these documents into a single useful national history. Movses himself will compile such a lengthy history of the Armenians, to the glory of his patron, and in the hopes that others will appreciate his labors. He will take from secular/pagan authors only what he considers reliable.

4. Movses notes discrepancies in the genealogies of Adam and his descendants found in different versions of the Old Testament.

5. The genealogies of Noah and his descendants are provided [g13-g18], with concentration on Japheth's descendants.

6.

> Discussion of the most ancient material and inconsistencies in the differing accounts.

7.

> Differing accounts about the giant Bel, and who he really was.

8.

> Movses describes the beginnings of Armenian historiography in the reign of King Vagharshak, brother of Arshak the Great, king of the Persians.

9.

Letter of Vagharshak, king of the Armenians, to Arshak the Great, king of the Persians.

10.

About the rebellion of Hayk.

11.

About the war between Hayk and Bel, the death of Bel, and what followed.

12.

About the clans and generations descending from Hayk, and what each of them did.

13.

Regarding the war and victory over the inhabitants of the East, and about the death of Niwk'ar Mades.

14.

About fighting against the Assyrians, and [the Armenians'] victory; and also regarding Payapis K'aagheay, and Caesarea, and [the geographical designations] First [Armenia] and [the] other Armenias.

15.

About Ara and his death in warfare with Shamiram (Semiramis).

16.

How Shamiram built the city and aqueduct and her own home after Ara's death.

17.

About Shamiram: why she killed her sons, and how she fled to Armenia [escaping] from the mage Zoroaster/Zradasht. And how she died at the hands of her son, Ninuas.

18.

Concerning the certainty that Shamiram first waged war in India and later died in Armenia.

19.

What transpired after the death of Shamiram.

19./20.
Genealogies.

The agreement of the genealogy of our people with those of the Hebrews and Chaldeans down to Sardanapalus, who was called Tawnos Konkoleros.

20.

About Ara, the [son] of Ara, and his son, Anushawan Sawsanue'r.

21.

Paruyr, son of Skyordi, becomes the first king among the Armenians; he helps the Mede Varbak to take possession of [the Median] kingdom from Sardanapalus.

22.

The order of our kings and their number, from father to son.

23.

About the sons of Senek'erim, from whom are descended the Artsruni and the Gnuni [Houses] and the [House of the] one called the bdeashkh of Aghdznik'; and, in the same chapter, that the House of Angegh descends from Pask'am.

24.

Regarding Tigran, what kind of person he was in everything.

25.

About Azhdahak's fear and doubt over the friendly unity between Cyrus and Tigran.

26.

How Azhdahak, in his suspicion, saw his future destiny in a marvellous dream.

27.

About the advice of his advisors, his own thoughts, and the course of action he took at once.

28.

Azhdahak's letter, followed by Tigran's acceptance [of its proposal], and Tigranuhi's journey to Media.

29.

How the treachery was revealed, and how the war was provoked in which Azhdahak himself perished.

30.

Concerning how [Tigran] sent his sister, Tigranuhi, to Tigranakert, and about Azhdahak's first wife, Anoysh, and the settlement of the prisoners.

31.

Concerning who [Tigran's] descendants were, and the clans deriving from him.

32.

The Illium war in the time of Tewtamos, and [the participation] of our Zarmayr with a small Ethiopian force. [Zarmayr's] death. [Summarized]

From Persian Legends

Legends.

Concerning Biwrasp Azhdahak.

Book Two

The Middle Portion of the History of Our Ancestors

1.

Introduction to Book 2.

2.

The reign of Arshak and his sons, war with the Macedonians, and friendship with the Romans.

3.

The enthronement of Vagharshak over the land of the Armenians.

4.

How Vagharshak united the Armenian braves into an organized military and advanced against the allies of the Macedonians.

5.

The battle of Morp'iwghik and his death from the blow of a spear.

6.

How Vagharshak organized the west and north of our land.

7.

About the kingdom he created, how he arranged the lordships, and how and in what manner he ordered the way of life.

8.

The second in the kingdom was descended from the line of Azhdahak, king of the Medes.

9.

Regarding our Arshak the First and his deeds.

10.

After the writings of Mar Abas Catina, where information derives from for this history.

11.

Concerning our Artashe's the First and how he seized primacy [of rule].

12.

How Artashe's advanced to the West, arrested Croesus, and took his statues of idols as booty to the Armenians.

13.

Testimonies from other historians about the empire of Artashe's and his taking Croesus prisoner.

14.

About the reign of Tigran the Middle, his resistance to the Greek armies, his building of the temples, and his campaigns into Palestine.

15.

The Roman general, Pompey, comes against us; the capture of Mazhak, and the death of Mithridates.

16.

Regarding Tigran's attack on the Roman troops, how Gabianus evaded [him], and the release of the young Mithridates.

17.

The war of Crassus, and how he perished at Tigran's hands.

18.

How Cassius resisted Tigran, the revolt of Mithridates, and the building of Caesarea.

19.

About the alliance of Tigran and Artashe's, the raid into Palestine, the capture of Hyrcanus the high priest and many other Jews.

20.

Another war of the Armenians against the forces of the Romans, and the defeat of Silon and Bendidius.

21.

How Antony himself went against the troops of the Armenians and took Samosata.

22.

Concerning the reign of Artawazd and the war with the Romans.

23.

How Antony arrested Artawazd.

24.

Concerning the reign of Arsham, the first submission of part of Armenia to Roman tribute, the freeing of Hyrcanus, and the danger to the Bagratid clan because of him.

25.

Arsham's quarrel with Herod, and the unwilling submission [of Arsham].

26.

The reign of Abgar, Armenia becomes fully subject to Roman taxes, the war with Herod's troops and the murder of his brother's son, Joseph.

27.

The building of the city of Edessa and a brief reference to the clan of our Illuminator.

28.

Concerning Abgar's going to the East and enthroning Artashe's as king of the Persians, how he brought order to his brothers, from whom are descended our Illuminator and his kin.

29.

Abgar's return from the East, and how he gave assistance to Aretas in the struggle against the Tetrarch Herod.

30.

How Abgar sent princes to Marinus, on which occasion they saw our Savior Christ, which proved the beginning of Abgar's conversion.

31.

The letter of Abgar to the Savior.

32.

The reply to Abgar's letter, which Thomas the apostle wrote at the command of the Savior.

33.

The preaching of Apostle Thaddeus in Edessa and copies of five letters.

34.

Regarding the martyrdom of our apostles.

35.

Concerning the reign as king of Sanatruk, the killing of Abgar's descendants, and about Queen Helen.

36.

Concerning the rennovation of the city of Nisibis, the naming of Sanatruk, and his death.

37.

The reign of Eruand and the destruction of Sanatruk's sons, and how Artashe's escaped and fled from it.

38.

About Ervand's attempts to seize the lad Artashe's and his abandoning of Mesopotamia.

39.

Regarding the construction of the city of Eruandashat.

40.

About how [Eruand] built Bagaran, city of idols.

41.

Concerning the planting of the forest called Tsnndots'.

42.

About the *dzer'akert* named Eruandakert.

43.

How Smbat enlisted aid from the Persian lords and sought to enthrone Artashe's as king.

44.

Concerning how Eruand heard about the coming of Artashe's and the assembling of troops in preparation for war.

45.

How the enterprise succeded when Artashe's entered his own land.

46.

Eruand's war with Artash'es and his flight; the taking of his city, and his death.

47.

The reign of Artashe's and the rewarding of his benefactors.

48.

The killing of Eruaz and the building of [a] second Bagaran, and the paying of taxes to the Romans by Artashe's.

49.

Regarding the building of the city Artashat.

50.

The invasion of the Alans against us, their defeat, and how Artashe's established [marital] relations with them.

51.

The killing of Argam and his sons.

52.

What kind of man Smbat was; what he did among the Alans; the settlement of Artaz.

53.

Destruction of [the land of] the Kasbk' and the quarrel of the descendants of Artashe's with Smbat and with each other.

54.

Warfare against the troops of Domitian in Basean.

55.

Regarding Trajan and his deeds; and the death of Mazhan [caused] by his brothers.

56.

Regarding how Artashe's increased the population of the land and fixed the borders.

57.

About the *naxarar*dom of the Amatunik'.

58.

About the Ar'awegheank' *tohm*; where this clan *(azg)* sprang from.

59.

Knowledge of the arts in the days of Artashe's.

60.

About the death of Artashe's.

61.

The reign of Artawazd; expulsion of his brothers and sisters, and his death, with an allegorical [interpretation].

62.

About Tiran.

63.

About Trdat Bagratuni and the names of his predecessors.

64.

Tigran the Last—the sort of man he was, and his deeds.

65.

About the reign as king of Vagharsh and the making of the hamlet of Basean, the fortification of Nor-K'aghak' [New City/Vagharshapat] with walls; war with the Khazars and [Vagharsh's] death.

66.

Where this narration comes from.

67.

How Agat'angeghos narrated [events] in brief.

68.

About the royal clans from which the Parthian tribes arose.

69.

About the clan/tribe (ts'egh) of Artashe's, king of the Persians, to the end [of the Arsacid dynasty].

70.

About the fables of the Pahlawik'.

71.

Xosrov's first invasion of Asorestan, by which he meant to aid Artawan.

72.

Xosrov, receiving aid from Phillip, goes against Artashir in battle.

73.

Again Xosrov attacks Artashir [this time] without help from the Romans.

74.

About the arrival of Anak and the begetting of Saint Gregory.

75.

About Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, and his *History.*

76.

Artashir comes against us, and his victory over Emperor Tacitus.

77.

Regarding the peace between the Persians and Greeks and Artashir's developing of Armenia during the years of anarchy.

78.

Destruction of the Mandakuni clan by Artashir.

79.

Regarding Trdat's exploits during the years of anarchy among the Armenians.

80.

A brief exposition of the upbringing and life of Gregory and his sons, from the letter of Bishop Artites [written] regarding the question of the hermit Mark of Yagr'ochan.

81.

From where and how the Mamikonean clan arose.

82.

The exploits of Trdat during his reign and before he became a believer.

83.

How Trdat married Ashxe'n; how Diocletian married Maximia; and how he came to the faith.

84.

The destruction of the Slkunik' by the Chinese Mamgon.

85.

The exploits of Trdat in the Aghuan war, in which he cut in half the king of the Basilk'.

86.

Concerning the blessed Nune' [Nino], and how she became the cause of the salvation of the Iberians.

87.

The defeat of Shapuh and [his] unwilling submission to Constantine the Great; Trdat's capture of Ecbatana, and the arrival of his relatives; and the discovery of the Wood of Salvation [Jesus' cross] at that time.

88.

The imprisonment of Licinius; the transfer of the court from Rome; and the building of Constantinople.

89.

Concerning the heretic Arius and the council convened because of him in Nicaea; and about the wonders which appeared to Grigorios.

90.

The return of Aristake's from Nicaea, the conversion of his relatives, and the constructions at Gar'ni.

91.

About the death of Gregory and Aristake's and why the mountain was called "Caves of Mane."

92.

Regarding the funeral of King Trdat, about which a lamentable complaint.

Book Three

Conclusion of [the History of] Our Fatherland

1.

Introduction to Book 3.

2.

What happened to the great Vrt'ane's after the death of Trdat, and events regarding three lordships.

3.

The death of Saint Grigoris at the hands of the barbarians.

4.

The withdrawal of the *bdeashx* Bakur from the alliance of the Armenians, and the plan of the *naxarar*s to enthrone Xosrov.

5.

A copy of the Armenians' letter.

6.

The arrival of Antiochus, and his deeds.

7.

The crime of Manachihr against Jacob the Great, and his death.

8.

Regarding the reign of Xosrov the Less, the transfer of the court, and the planting of the forest.

9.

About the invasion among us of the Northern people, during his [Xosrov's] time and about Vahan Amatuni's exploits there.

10.

The death of Xosrov and the warfare between the Armenians and the Persians.

11.

About the enthronement of Tiran, the departure from this world of Vrt'ane's the Great and the succession of the blessed Yusik to the *[kat'oghikosal]* throne.

12.

Shapuh's war against Constantius.

13.

How Tiran went before Julian and gave hostages.

14.

The martyrdom of Saint Yusik and Daniel.

15.

How Zo'ray took the Armenian troops, turned from Julian, and was killed with his clan.

16.

About the death of Yusik's sons and the successor of P'ar'nerseh to the [patriarchal] throne.

17.

How Tiran was tricked by Shapuh when he went at the latter's summons, and how he was blinded by him.

18.

Concerning Shapuh's enthroning of Arshak, and his campaign among the Greeks.

19.

How Arshak hated the king of the Greeks.

20.

Concerning Saint Nerse's and his good reforms.

21.

The killing of Trdat, Arshak's brother; Saint Nerse's goes to Byzantium; and the returning of the hostages.

22.

How the dispute between Arshak and Gnel came about and concerning Tiran's death.

23.

Arshak again becomes envious of Gnel, and kills him.

24.

How Arshak made bold to take Gnel's wife, from whom Pap was born.

25.

The killing of Tirit'.

26.

Shapuh's defeat at Tigranakert.

27.

How Arshakawan was built and destroyed, and how Ani was taken.

28.

The taking of Tigranakert and its complete demolition.

29.

Regarding the war of Arshak with his lords, and the going of Pap to Byzantium, as a hostage.

30.

Regarding the exile of Nerse's the Great and his chance landing on an uninhabited island; and how he was fed through Providence from On High.

31.

Arshak's destruction of the lords and about the behavior of Bishop Xad.

32.

How Arshak wanted to seize and stone the blessed Xad, for reproaching his transgressions.

33.

Regarding the accession of Theodosius the Great and the council held about Pneumatomachoi ("Soul Fighters")

34.

Concerning Arshak's unwilling trip to Shapuh, from which he did not return.

35.

Regarding the evils visited upon the Armenians by Shapuh, and the death of Arshak.

36.

The evils visited upon us by Meruzhan and the reign of Pap as king of the Armenians.

37.

Concerning the great battle which occurred at Dziraw and the death of the impious Meruzhan.

38.

How Pap caused Saint Nerse's to drink a fatal drug and deprived him of life.

39.

Regarding Sahak's occupancy of the [episcopal] throne, and the killing of Pap by Theodosius.

40.

Concerning reign of Varazdat and his imprisonment.

41.

The reign of Arshak and Vagharshak.

42.

Concerning the division of Armenia into two under the two Arsacid kings, and the subjection to two peoples, Persians and Greeks.

43.

Regarding the transfer of the Armenian lords based on each one's hereditary [holdings] to the service of [one of] the two kings.

44.

How Xosrov exalted Sahak *aspet,* and his exploits against the robbers of the Vanandats'i clan.

45.

Regarding the coming to Xosrov of [the lords] Sure'n, Vahan, and Ashxadar with Arshak's treasury.

46.

Arshak, defeated in war by Xosrov, dies of sickness.

47.

Concerning the blessed Mesrop.

48.

The return to Xosrov of the lords who had been with Arshak.

49.

Xosrov rules as sole ruler of the Armenians, and the archepiscopal throne is held by Sahak the Great.

50.

The imprisonment of Xosrov and the passing of the crown to his brother.

51.

The journey of Sahak the Great to Ctesiphon and his return with honors and gifts.

52.

Regarding Daniel's script.

53.

Regarding the Mesropean letters, given by grace from On High.

54.

Regarding the scripts of the Armenians, Georgians, and Aghuans.

55.

Xosrov reigns as king of the Armenians a second time, and after him Shapuh the Persian [ruled].

56.

What transpired after Shapuh's coming to Armenia, and the anarchy after him.

57.

The mission of Mesrop to Byzantium and copies of five letters.

58.

Concerning instruction in our western [sector] and peace in full, and about the reign of Artashir.

59.

Construction of the city of Karin, which is called Theodosiopolis.

60.

Mesrop again preaches, and the going to Byzantium of the translators.

61.

Concerning the Council of Ephesus, which took place because of impious Nestorius.

62.

On the *vardapet*s (Doctors of the Church), myself, and the journey to study, with a comparison to celestial bodies.

63.

About the wicked alliance of the Armenians to plan their own destruction.

64.

About the abolition of the kingdom of the Armenians by their own will and the disrespecting of the throne of the archepiscopate.

65.

The release from the Persians of Sahak the Great with his vicar, Samue'l.

66.

The deeds of Samue'l the unworthy colleague of Sahak the Great.

67.

The translation from this world of Sahak the Great and blessed Mesrop.

68.

Not translated: Lament over the elimination of the line of the Arsacids from the kingship of the Armenians and of the archepiscopate, from the line of Saint Gregory.

Translator's Preface

The *History* attributed to Movses of Xoren consists of three Books plus a fourth short section of legends placed between Books One and Two. Book One, in 32 chapters, contains the prehistory of the Armenian people and of lands they came to inhabit, including information about the early patriarchs and legends—material which long predates the writing of Armenian with its own alphabet (5th century A.D.). Book Two, in 92 chapters, describes the rise and rule of the Arsacid clan in Persia and Armenia, the origins of the great lordly (*naxarar*) clans, the historical periods of the Roman Republic and Roman Empire, and local events through the fourth century including the Christianization of the country. Book Three, in 68 chapters, describes fifth-century events including the creation of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrop, and of a Christian literature using it. Book Three ends with the deaths of *Kat'oghikos* Sahak and Mesrop. The author says that he lived in this period, participated in translating works from Greek into Armenian, and wrote his *History* at the request of a patron, Sahak Bagratuni.

Movses' composition includes frequent asides to Sahak Bagratuni and also questions to him. Not only does Movses praise Sahak for his foresight in requesting a general history of Armenian antiquities, but asks if he wants more or less writing on a particular ruler or theme. Apparently Sahak loved folktales, and Movses—occasionally showing exasperation—complies and supplies them, while blaming Sahak's youth for the interest. Movses complains that the inclusion of so much fantasy compromises his plans for the structure of the work. Perhaps the separated section of fables between Books One and Two was based on this consideration. In any case, Xorenats'i's composition is an astonishing and beautiful piece of work. The Classical Armenian is awe-inspiring, with words and usages not seen elsewhere, and the material is carefully and gracefully arranged. The content is dazzling in its variety and richness.

Movses' *History* is best regarded as a "cultural object." The *historical* period embraced in its three Books extends from the first millenium B.C. to the mid-5th century A.D. However, despite its title, it

is much more than a history. It also contains invaluable information about the archaeology, ethnography, culture, and folklore of the Armenians and their predecessors in Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and Mesopotamia, as well as some information about the related history of neighboring peoples.

Controversy surrounds many aspects of the work. There is an extensive literature devoted to its study, some of which is online. We will refer readers to this material directly rather than attempting to summarize arguments which sometimes are involved. A general appreciation of the volume of scholarly writings on Movses and his work may be had by a look at Petros Hovhannisyan's 440 page bibliography and study, [Մովսես Խորենացի Մատենագիտություն [*Movses Xorenats'i Bibliography*], (Erevan, 2013). Hovhannisyan's edition catalogs and characterizes the many publications of the Classical Armenian texts, the translations, and studies that deal with Xorenats'i's *History*, other works attributed to him, and the enigmatic author himself.

For almost two hundred years, the main controversy has been about the date of the author. Movses claims to be living in the late 5th century, but the work shows signs of later hands. The two positions —*either* 5th-century *or* a later date—are reflected in scholarly articles by Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1901) for the 5th century, and Cyril Toumanoff (1961) for later centuries. These two courteous and convincing studies are available in the compilation The Movses Xorenats'i Controversy. The absolutism and acrimony which often had characterized the discussion finally began to change in the late 20th century.

In the *Introduction* to their French translation of Khorenats'i', *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1993), Jean-Pierre and Annie Mahé emphasized the multidimensional nature of Movses' work. They also suggested that the work, like other legitimate 5th-century sources (such as Agat'angeghos' *History*), underwent some changes over the centuries and that, like Agat'angeghos' work, what has come down to us may not be an unaltered text. This very reasonable proposal would neatly account for the variety of post-5th century phenomena observed in the work over the past two centuries, and would allow those championing 7th-9th century dates, all to claim partial victory. To us, it would also account for the somewhat varied "voices"—purporting to be Movses—which may be discernible in the complete work. Some of these "voices" with their questionable diction and biographical information, would be later editors pretending to be the original author. The Mahés also consider Movses' Classical Armenian to be so vibrant that *grabar* may have been his *spoken* language, unlike later authors (p. 82). The Mahés' 80-page Introduction currently is available online and, for its accuracy and insights, constitutes a foundational text for the study of Khorenats'i's *History*. The Mahés discuss the verifiable historical worth of the three Books, chapter by chaper, and conclude that Movses is often mistaken in his facts when they can be checked against other sources. Even so, none of his factual errors—such as conflating several kings with the same name, or merging royal dynasties—disqualify him from being a fifth-century author. Historical accuracy is only part of the story. Movses' work has extraordinary value on matters of archaeology, ethnography and culture. For example, the Western discovery of Urartian cuneiform was based on Movses' descriptions, and so was the identification of Aramaic-inscribed stones which delimited borders. His comments on the Hellenistic temple at Gar'ni have been confirmed by Greek inscriptions.

One of the most important works on Movses' *History* in over a century is Aram Topchyan's *The Problem of the Greek Sources of Movsēs Xorenac'i's History of Armenia* (Leuven, 2006). In this balanced investigation the author meticulously compares the Greek sources Movses quotes with their originals (extant or fragmentary), and makes some remarkable discoveries in favor of Movses'

assertions. The author's Introduction contains a discussion of the history of Xorenats'i criticism in the 19th-20th centuries, which is probably the best available, and also quite humorous.

Welcome changes have been introduced into the discussion also by Giusto Traina whose investigations of Xorenats'i and other Armenian sources are currently available online at academia.edu, here. Traina finds that the substantial information about Parthian and Sasanian institutions and history provided by Xorenats'i, does not reflect a date much beyond the 5th century. Perhaps the level of detail provided may in fact confine the material to the 5th century.

*

The translation below was made from the critical edition of the Classical Armenian text Մովսիսի Խորենացւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց/*Movsisi Xorenats'woy Patmut'iwn Hayots' [Movse's Xorenats'i's History of the Armenians]*, (Tiflis, 1913), edited by M. Abeghean, S. Yarut'iwnean, and St. Malxaseants'. It is a result of our dissatisfaction with Robert W. Thomson's English translation (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) and also a desire for an accurate copyright-free version. Thomson's publication was greatly criticized for its biases and methodological problems (see the section "Modern Studies" in the Wikipedia entry Movses Khorenatsi, for additional bibliography); the work was reissued with some corrections and additional bibliography in 2006, but the problems in the translation observed below were not addressed. These problems fall into three general categories.

1. Mistranslation.

2.11 Thomson: "his sister Artasham"
should be: "his daughter Artasham"
[*zdustr iwr zArtashamay*].

2.16 Thomson: "But Gabianus was unable to resist Tigran"
should be: "But Gabianus did not dare to oppose Tigran"
[*och' ishxeats' i dimi harkanel Tigranay*]

2.16 Thomson: "his cousin"
should be: "his nephew [sister's son]"
[*zk'er'ordin nora*]

2.19 Thomson: "He was opposed by a certain Pacorus"
should be: "A certain Pacorus came before him"
[*Nma e"nd ar'aj lini omn Pakaros anun*]

2.24 Thomson: "In the twenty-fourth year"
should be: "In the twentieth year"
[*i k'sannerordi ami*]

2.51 Thomson: "all the villages to the south of the Araxes"
should be: "all the villages to the north of the Araxes"
[*e"st hiwsisoy Erasxay zamenayn giwghs*]

2.68 Thomson: "then Arshavir for twenty-six years"
should be: "then Arshavir for forty-six years"

[*apa Arshawir` ams k'ar'asun ew vets'*]

3.21 Thomson: "majordomo"
should be: "chief of the eunuchs"
[*nerk'inapet*]

The above is a partial list.

2. Undertranslation. The 5th-century Xorenats'i's terminology is precise and extensive. He uses a welter of terms to refer to institutions, offices, clan and noble hierarchies—terms whose nuances or even meanings are not clearly understood today, though it is clear that *Movses* understood them. Authors of the 7th century and later do not use such words often, if at all. When such specialized terms are "translated" to general words like "lord," "noble," "prince," as Thomson does often without further explanation, the text sheds some of its authenticity. It becomes "de-natured." We believe that Xorenats'i's extensive usage of specialized vocabulary should be considered evidence that the core text reflects a 5th-century reality.

3. Overtranslation. A number of geographical designations are modernized throughout. These are not grave errors to non-specialists, but they introduce imprecisions which are not in the original text. Atrpatakan is modernized to Azerbaijan; Iberia (Virk') is Georgia; Asia Minor is Anatolia. It is ironic that Thomson considered the appearance of Byzantine geographical terms in the text of Movses to be another clue to its post-5th century date. Yet he has done the same thing, unwittingly, with his own modernizations.

*

Based on its language and content, this source probably dates from the late 5th century, as Armenian tradition claims. Its first editing and promulgation would have occurred in the 6th century. During the reign of Byzantine emperor Justinian (527–565) it might have had its geographical terminology "modernized" by an editor. The late 6th century happened to be a time of anti-Mamikonean sentiment, after Vardan II Mamikonean's failed rebellion against the Persians in 571-572, and his flight to Constantinpole. This was the start of the family's long decline in Armenian affairs. Thus the strong anti-Mamikonean sentiment in Xorenats'i does not necessarily have to reflect an 8th-century or post-8th-century reality, as has usually been thought. It could be a reflection of Movses' own negative sentiments of the 5th century further enhanced with each subsequent edition, beginning as early as the 6th century.

Robert Bedrosian
Long Branch, New Jersey 2025

A Note on Pagination

The *grabar* pagination is as follows. This sentence corresponds to the information found on page 91

of the Classical Armenian text [g91] and what follows is on page 92. In other words, the Classical Armenian text delimiters [gnn] indicate **bottom** of page.

Transliteration

The transliteration used here is a modification of the Library of Congress system for online Armenian, substituting **x** for the LOC's **kh**, for the thirteenth character of the Armenian alphabet (խ). Otherwise we follow the LOC transliteration, which eliminates diacritical marks above or below a character, and substitutes single or double quotation marks to the character's right. In the LOC romanization, the seventh character of the alphabet (է) appears as **e'**, the eighth (ը) as **e"**, the twenty-eighth (ռ) as **r'**, and the thirty-eighth (օ), as **o'**.

Some Additional Resources

Wikipedia:

Movses Khorenatsi.
Movses Khorenatsi, Google search of Wikipedia.

Arsacid/Parthian empire, 247 B.C.–224 A.D.
Arsacid Dynasty of Armenia.

Encyclopaedia Iranica:

Movsēs Xorenac‘i, article by Nina Garsoïan.

The Arsacid Dynasty of Armenia, by Cyril Toumanoff.

Internet Archive:

Movses Xorenats'i, texts and studies.

Asia Minor/Caucasus, in antiquity.
Parthia/Parthians.
Arsacids/Arshakunis.

Book One

Genealogy of Greater Armenia

3. About the unlearned ways of our first kings and princes.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 3.

I do not want to leave the unlearned behavior of our first ancestors without a reproachful comment. Instead, at the very start of our work [***end*** of *grabar* (Classical Armenian) text page 9; henceforth shown as, for example, g9], [we want to] describe the reason for blaming them. Truly worthy of praise are the [foreign] kings who, in writing and through histories, set forth and put in order [events of] their own times, recording the deeds of wisdom and bravery of each one in stories and histories. Similarly deserving of praise from us are those who, with painstaking labor, compiled books from archives. I say that it was through these accounts, when we read them, that we became informed about [historical] world events. [From them] we learned about the order of the [different] polities, when we read such wise discourses and narratives—those of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hellenes. Truly, it is to the wisdom of such men who so zealously undertook such matters, that we aspire. It is clear to all of us that our own [Armenian] and other [foreign] first kings lacked such interest because of their ignorance, and the lack of development of their rational faculties. Although we are a small nation, and very limited regarding numbers [of people], lacking in [military] strength, and often conquered by others and subjected to their rule, nonetheless many deeds of valor were wrought in our land, worthy of being remembered in writing—[deeds] which not a single one of them [the early rulers] took the initiative to have written down. As for those [rulers] who did not [g10] think to do a good thing for their own [reputations] and leave some name [about themselves] as a memorial for the world, should we reproach them further, demanding from them [information] about what preceded them in antiquity?

Now some might say that [the absence of histories] was the result of [the Armenians] not having writing or literature at the time, or due to the different wars which came one after the other. But this view is not correct, since there were intervals [of peace] between the wars, and [there existed] writing [or, scripts] of the Persians and Greeks—which are used today among us in the many books which record information about property in the villages and districts, and each House [has writen accounts] of their individual controversies and pacts, especially those that concern the succession of the noble families. Rather, it seems to me that the people of Armenia today, just as in the past, had a dislike

of [abstract] wisdom and [a dislike of] collections of wisdom songs. Therefore, it is superfluous to continue our narration about unreasonable, stupid and savage people.

But I marvel at the fertility of your mind, that from the beginning of our nation to the present, you turned out to be the only one able to undertake such an important task and invite us to investigate, in a large and useful work, and reliably set forth the history of our people [g11], [to write] about kings and *naxarar*s (lords), *azg*s ("clans"), and *tohm*s ("Houses"), about their origins, about the deeds of each of them, about which of the noted clans are local and our own, and which of them were immigrants who settled here and merged with us, [in other words] to describe in writing the deeds and times of each of them, from the time of confusion at the building of the Tower [of Babel] to the present—regarding this as a lovely tribute to you, for your glory and untiring pleasure.

[Movses regrets that, unlike the Hebrew historians, he does not have a fundamental work to consult about Armenian antiquities. He himself is going to construct such a work.]...So let me begin, though with effort, [in the hopes that] just one single person from among us will be found who will be grateful for these labors. I will begin [with Creation] at the same place that the others did, those [historians] who were in the Church and were Christians, considering it superfluous to repeat the legends of profane/secular writers about the beginning—though I shall mention some of the later times and the famous men where the divine Scriptures concur. [Then I shall] advance necessarily to pagan narratives, from which I will take what I consider reliable [g12].

*

[The descendants of Adam are listed, then the descendants of Noah [Chapters 4-5, g13-g18], then the descendants of Noah's son, Japheth (from whom the Armenians later claimed descent), with material not known elsewhere.]

5.

... YABET' [Japheth]

Yabet' fathered Gamer
Gamer fathered T'iras
T'iras fathered T'orgom
T'orgom fathered Hayk
Hayk fathered Aramaneak
Aramaneak fathered Aramayis
Aramayis fathered Amasya
Amasya fathered Gegham

Gegham fathered Harmay
Harmay fathered Aram
Aram fathered Ara the Handsome [g19]...

6.

Regarding the fact that the accounts of other antiquarians sometimes agree with [patriarch and prophet] Moses [i.e., with the Old Testament accounts] and sometimes disagree, and about the ancient unwritten stories of the philosopher Olympiodorus.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 6.

We have presented the genealogy of the three sons of Noah down to Abraham, Ninus, and Aram—selecting, as far as possible, what is reliable from many narratives. I believe that no thinking person will object to this, except someone who, intending to violate the correct order, would prefer fables to the true accounts. In such cases, everyone is free to amuse himself as he pleases.

But if you are grateful for our labors and efforts, O you lover of knowledge and patron of our labors, in a few words I shall briefly recapitulate what I set out above: how the first storytellers were pleased to write on this matter as romances, although I am not now able to say whether such materials were found in this [fabulous] form in the achives of the kings or whether each one [of the authors] enjoyed changing the names and the stories and the times as he chose, or if there were some other reasons [for the discrepancies]. But as for [accounts about] the beginning [*i.e.*, Creation] sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they lie. For example, just as they call the first created [being] not the first man [g22] but [the first] king, so they give him a barbarous name, attributing to him a life of thirty-six thousand years. Yet when it comes to the number of the patriarchs and the mention of the Flood, they concur and agree with Moses. Similarly, when [describing events] after the Flood they [erroneously] list three famous men before the building of the Tower, yet after the voyage of Xisut'ra to Armenia, they are correct; but in changing the names and in many other things they lie.

But now, I shall be happy to begin my account [based on] the words of my Sibyl, Berosus, who was more accurate than most of the other [antiquarians]. [Berosus] says that "Before [construction of] the Tower and before the human race became multilingual and also following the sea voyage of Xisut'ra to Armenia, the rulers of the world were Zruan, Titan, and Yapetost'e'." These, it seems to me, correspond to Sem, Ham, and Japheth [in *Genesis* in the *Old Testament]*.

[Berosus continues] "When they had divided up the world under their rule, Zruan grew stronger and ruled over the other two." Zradasht, a magus (*mog*), and king of the Bactrians—who are the Medes—said that [Zruan] is the father of the gods. [Zradasht] said many other things about him of a fabulous nature, which would be inappropriate for us to repeat now [g23].

[Berosus] says: "When Zruan had become a tyrant, Titan and Yapetost'e' opposed him in battle, since he planned to establish his sons as kings over everyone. In this confusion, Titan seized a part of the territory allotted to Zruan. Then their sister, Astghik, convinced [them] to stop the conflict. [Titan and Yapetost'e'] consented to Zruan reigning as king, but made a sworn treaty between them to kill all the sons born to Zruan, so that they would not rule over them as a [hereditary] family. Thus, they designated strong men from the Titans to observe the births of the [children of Zruan's] women. They had slain two [of the children] to keep the sworn agreement in force, when their sister, Astghik with Zruan's women, convinced some of the Titans to let the other offspring live, [and, instead of killing them] sending them to the West, to the mountain once called Diwts'e"nke'ts' , and now called Olympus.

Now, whether some consider these [accounts] to be fables, or to be the truth, I myself am convinced that there is much truth here...[g24].

We must repeat, though in an extremely abbreviated manner, certain old unwritten narratives which were told in the old days among the Greek sages and which have come down to us through [the writings of persons] named Gorgias and Banan and another, a third [writer], a certain David. One of them, versed in philosophy, said this: "O elders, when I was in Greece and was studying philosophy, it once happened that among wise and experienced men, the discussion had turned to [matters of historical] geography and the division of peoples [into nations]. Stories found in books were interpreted—some in one way, others, in a different way. But the most accomplished man among them, who was named Olympiodorus, said this: 'I will narrate to you, unwritten tales that have come down to us by tradition and that many villagers repeat to this day. There is a book about Xisut'ra and his [g25] sons—which now cannot be found anywhere—in which, they say, the following account appears. After the voyage of Xisut'ra to Armenia, and after he encountered dry land, one of his sons, named Sem, went to examine the land to the northwest. Finding a small plain near a mountain with an elongated base, with a river crossing it, which flowed towards Assyria, [Sem] remained there for two lunar months. He named the mountain Sim, after his own name, and then returned to the southeast from where he had come. One of [Sem's] youngest sons, named Tarban, with thirty of his brothers and fifteen sisters along with their husbands, left his father and settled by the same riverbank, from whose name he called the district Tarawn. He called the name of the place where he had dwelled Tsro'nk', since it was there that the initial separation of [Sem's] sons from him had occurred. They also say that he resided for a few days on the

borders of Bactria, leaving one of his sons there. The eastern areas of Sim, they call Zruan, and to this day the district is called Zaruand [g26].

Very often the old [descendants] of Aram mention such things in fabulous songs, ballads [sung] to the accompaniment of the *p'andir* [stringed instrument], with performances and dances. Whether these tales are true or false does not concern us. After all, in this book I will cite everything in full—both what is oral and what is written in books, so that you will know everything and will be convinced of my sincerity towards you.

7.

Brief discussion of the fact that the one called Bel by secular authors is in truth Nebrovt [Nimrod] of the holy Scriptures.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 7.

Many [authors] say many things which differ from each other on the topic of Bel, during whose time our ancestor Hayk lived. But I say that the one called Cronus is [the same as] Bel Nimrod. The Egyptians arrange their order in the same way as [the patriarch] Moses [does, namely,] Hephaestus, the Sun, Cronus who is Ham, Kush, and Nimrod, leaving out Mestrayim. For they say that Hephaestus was the first man and the inventor of fire. (Why it is that [Hephaestus] discovered fire or how Prometheus stole the divine fire and gave it as a gift to humankind—which is an allegory—does not belong [g27] in the order of our narration.) The order of the Egyptian dynasties, and the sum of the years from the dynasty of [the] Shepherd [kings] to Hephaestus, coincide with what was noted among the Hebrews, from the time of Joseph to Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

Let this much be sufficient [on this matter]. For if we undertake to explain to you in our history everything that has happened from the time of the building of the Tower to our own days, then when will we get to the historical narratives that you particularly want? This is especially the case, since the work ahead of us is [already] long and the lifespan of mortals is short and unknowable. So then, I now shall begin to show you [information] about our own [history], where [the material] came from, and more about it.

8.

Who found these stories and where they came from.

They say that Arshak the Great, king of the Persians and Parthians, who himself was of Parthian origin, rebelled from the Macedonians and ruled as king over the entire East and

the Assyrians. In Nineveh he killed [the Seleucid] king Antiochus, and subjugated the entire world to his rule. He set up his brother, Vagharshak, to rule as king over the land of the Armenians, considering that this would be an appropriate way of making his own rule unshakable. [Arshak] gave to [Vagharshak] the city of Nisibis as his capital and [g28] and allocated his borders to include part of western Syria, Palestine, Asia, all of the Middle Lands [Միջերկրեայս "Asia Minor"], T'etalia, from the Pontic Sea to the area where the Caucasus runs into the Western Sea [Caspian Sea]. [This included] Atrpatakan "and as far as your thoughts and bravery can reach, because the borders of the brave," he said, "are determined by their swords—as much as they can take and hold."

When Vagharshak had thoroughly put in order his own principality and had established his reign, he desired to know who and what kind of men had ruled over the land of the Armenians up to his time; whether in the past the place he occupied had belonged to the brave or the cowardly. Having found a certain Assyrian man named Mar [Lord] Abas Catina, a man learned and skilled in Chaldean and Greek writing, [Vagharshak] sent him to his brother, Arshak the Great, with fitting gifts so that [Arshak] would open the royal *divan* [for Mar Abas]. [Vagharshak] wrote to him a letter with this content:

9.

Letter of Vagharshak, king of the Armenians, to Arshak the Great, king of the Persians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 9.

"To Arshak, king of earth and sea, whose person and image resemble those of our gods, whose glory and destiny are loftier than those of all kings, and whose breadth of mind resembles that of the sky above the earth, from Vagharshak your younger brother and comrade, established by you as king of the Armenians: be well in all triumph [g29].

Since I received a command from you to concern myself with valor and with all knowledge, I have never ceased doing what you advised. Rather, I have seen to all of these, to the extent that my intellect and comprehension permit. Now that my kingdom has been put into order, through your concern, I have a mind to learn who ruled the land of the Armenians before me; where the lordships which are here originated from. For there is no apparent order [to the lordships] here, nor [information] about the worship in the temples; nothing about who was the first and who was the last [in rank]. Nothing [seems to be] in order here; rather, everything is confused and wild.

Consequently, I beg your lordship to order that the royal *divan* be opened [to the man, Mar Abas] who has come before your mighty lordship, so that finding [the information] sought for by your brother and son, he may bring it back swiftly. I well know that the

pleasure we shall receive from the fulfillment of our wishes, will be a source of joy for you. Be well, O eminent one, who dwells among the gods."

When Arshak the Great received the letter from the hand of Mar Abas Catina, with great deliberation he ordered that the royal *divan* in Nineveh be made available to him. [King Arshak] also was delighted that such a thought had arisen in his brother, to whom he had entrusted half his kingdom. Having looked through all the books, [Mar Abas] found a book written in Greek, which had this title [g30].

Beginning of the Book

"This book, which contains authentic information about native antiquities and about the ancestors, was translated from Chaldean into Greek, at the order of Alexander."

The beginning of the book, he says, deals with Zruan, Titan, and Yapetost'e', and in it, the descendants of these three men, the progenitors, who were all renowned men were arranged in order, each in his place, for many years. From this book, Mar Abbas Catina extracted the authentic history of only our people and delivered it to King Vagharshak in Nisibis, in the Greek and Assyrian languages. The attractive and valiant Vagharshak, expert at the bow, eloquent, and intelligent, received it, and regarding it as the first among his treasures, placed it in a repository in the palace with great care; and a part of it he ordered to be inscribed on a monument. Through this we have confirmed the order of our tales and repeat them now for your curiosity, extending our ancestral lordships as far back as Sardanapalus of the Chaldeans and even farther back. In this book the account begins as follows.

"Fearsome and majestic were the first gods, and they were the cause of very great benefits to the world, creating it and making it full of people. A race of giants separated from them, monstrous [creatures], who were huge of body. Seeped in impiety, they hatched out an impious [g31] plan, to build the Tower [of Babylon]. They were engaged in that very task when a ferocious and divine wind aroused by the anger of the gods pulled apart the construction. [The gods also] divided [people], by making languages unintelligible to one another and hurled [humanity] into noisy confusion. One of [those giants] was Hayk, the descendant of Yapetost'e', a renowned and courageous lord (*naxarar*), strong and accurate in drawing the bow."

But let us finish with the [present] arrangement [or, "line," "train"] of this narration, because our goal here is not to tell the story in its entirety, but to try to show our first and most ancient ancestors. So, let me start to narrate from this same book: Yapetost'e, Merod,

Sirat', Taklad—who are Japheth, Gomer, T'iras, and T'orgom. After this, the same chronicler continues: Hayk, Aramaneak, and the others in order, whom we mentioned earlier.

10.

About the rebellion of Hayk.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 10.

This Hayk says [Mar Abas Catina] was handsome, strong, and personable, with curly hair, and bright eyes. Among the giants he was valiant and prominent, resisting all who would evilly turn their hand to absolute rule over all the giants and divine heroes. He scornfully raised his hand against the tyranny of Bel, during the spreading of the human race throughout the breadth of all the world, in the midst of incredibly [g32] foolish and mighty giants. Since everyone there had become frenzied and was trying to kill his own comrade with the sword, and trying to rule over one another, during these events Bel arose to tyranize over the entire country. But Hayk refused to submit to him, and after the birth of his son, Aramaneak, in Babylon, [Hayk] picked up and went to the Ararad country, to the north, accompanied by his sons and daughters, and the sons of his sons, powerful men, numbering about 300, and others, domestic servants and others who had come to join him, with all their bags and baggage. [Hayk] went and dwelled at the foot of a mountain in a plain where a few people from a previous dispersion had settled and were living. Hayk subjected them to himself and then built a place of residence, a property which he gave as inheritance to Aramaneak's son, Cadmus." This [information] confirms what is said in the ancient unwritten tales.

"And then [Mar Abas Catina] says, [Hayk] with his folk went to the northwest and dwelled in a certain highland plain, naming the area Hark', meaning that the *Fathers* from the clan of the House of Torgom had dwelled there. He also built a village, naming it Haykashe'n after himself." [Mar Abas Catina] notes in the same *History*, that living in an area to the south of this plain, at the foot of a mountain with a long base, there were a few people from earlier [times], who voluntarily submitted to the divine hero. This, too, verifies the unwritten tales mentioned earlier [g33].

11.

About the war and the death of Bel.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 11.

Continuing his narration, [Mar Abas Catina] says that when the Titan Bel had established his dominion over everyone, he sent one of his sons, with trusted men, to the northern areas, to bring Hayk into obedience so that they would live in peace. "You have settled, [Bel] said, "in an icy cold [land]. Now warm and melt the freezing cold of your prideful nature and, submitting to me, live in peace wherever it pleases you to settle in my country." However, Hayk sent back Bel's envoys with a harsh response. The messenger [Bel's son] returned to Babylon.

Then the Titan Bel assembled troops against him, and came with a mass of foot soldiers, arriving in the north, in the country of Ararad, close to Cadmus' home. Cadmus fled to Hayk, sending swift runners before him [with this message]: "Know, O great one among the divine heroes, that Bel is coming against you with immortal braves, and with giants of combat whose stature reaches the sky. When I learned that they were close to my house, I fled and am coming in panic. Now hurry and think what you will do."

Meanwhile Bel advanced impetuously—like a strong torrent pouring down from a height, with the unstoppable and huge force of his entourage—and reached the borders of Hayk's domain, placing confidence in the courage and physical strength [g34] of his mighty men. Here [Hayk], an intelligent and wise giant with curly hair and sparkling eyes, hurried and assembled his sons and grandsons, brave men and fine bowmen [but] extremely few in number, as well as others under his command. He came to the edge of a lake whose waters are salty and which contains small fish. Summoning his army, he said to them: "As we go against Bel's host, let us try to reach the spot where Bel is surrounded by his braves. Either we will die and our folk will go into the service of Bel, or else we will show him the dexterity of our fingers and, having dispersed the mob of them, we will achieve victory."

Advancing many stadia, they came to a plain located between the highest mountains and halted there in an elevated spot to the right of streams of water. Looking up they saw the disordered multitude of Bel's host scattered in brazen array and swarming over the face of the country. As for Bel [he stood] indifferent and unperturbed, like a watchtower, with his vast host [positioned] to the left of the water on a hill. Hayk recognized among this group the armed band with which Bel had advanced to the head of the troops, surrounded by a few chosen armed men—and there was a wide distance between [Bel] and his [main] forces. [Bel] wore an iron helmet with distinctive plumes, and plates of bronze over his back [g35] and chest; armor covered his legs and arms; a belt circled his waist. From his left side [hanged] a double-edged sword. An enormous spear was in his right hand and in the left, a shield. Select troops were to his right and left. When Hayk saw the Titan [Bel], so strongly armed and with select men on his right and left sides, he deployed Aramaneak and his two brothers on his own right, and placed Cadmus with two other sons on his left, because they were very competent with bow and sword. [Hayk] himself was in the front. He arranged his troops to the rear in the shape of a triangle, and then slowly moved forward.

The giants from both sides approached each other and a terrible roar sounded over the earth when they clashed. By the fierceness of their assaults, the giants brought fear upon each other. It was there that some gigantic men on both sides met the edge of the sword and rolled to the ground, dead. Yet the [outcome of the] battle remained undecided. When [Bel,] king of the Titans, saw this unexpected development and doubtful state of affairs, he was terrified and, turning back, began to ascend the same hill which he had just descended. He hoped to fortify himself in the midst of his host until the entire army arrived and he could restore his battle line. Realizing this, Hayk the archer advanced toward the king, pulled tight the wide-arched bow, and let fly a three-pronged arrow which hit [Bel's] breast plate. That arrow, having passed through [Bel's] back, fell out onto the ground. And here the arrogant Titan, falling to the ground, breathed out [g36] his spirit. When the host witnessed such an awesome act of bravery, each man fled where he could. On this matter, let this much be enough.

On the site of the battle, [Hayk] established a settlement (*dastakert*, "estate, domain"), and named it Hayk', because of the victory in battle. For that reason, even the district to this day is called Valley of the Armenians (Hayots' dzor). As for the hill where Bel fell with his warriors, Hayk named that Gerezmans (Cemetary). Today it is called Gerezmanakk'. [Mar Abas Catina] says that Hayk ordered that Bel's corpse be embalmed with drugs, taken to Hark' and buried in an elevated spot, in the view of his wives and sons. Our land is called Hayk' after the name of our ancestor Hayk.

12.

About the clans and generations descending from Hayk, and what each of them did.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 12.

Following this, much else is related in that book. However, we shall take from it only what serves for our compilation.

[Mar Abas Catina] says that after this, Hayk returned to his same dwelling place. He gave as gifts to his grandson, Cadmus, much booty from the war, and many renowned people from his own entourage. [Hayk] ordered him to hold his first home in his former dwelling place. Then he himself went and stayed in the plain called Hark', for a few years. Now we mentioned earlier that [Hayk] had fathered Aramaneak [g37] in Babylon. [Hayk] died after living not a few years [*i.e.*, after a long life], and entrusted the entire clan to his son, Aramaneak.

Now [Aramaneak] left two of his brothers—Xor' and Manawaz, with all their entourages—in [the place called] Hark', and [he left there] also Baz, who was Manawaz's son. Of

these [brothers], Manawaz inherited Hark', while his son, Baz, [inherited] the shore of the salt sea to the northwest. He called the district and the sea by his own name. They say that it is from him that descend the heads of families (*nahapetut'iwns*) named Manawazeank', Bznunik', and Orduni, which, they say, destroyed each other in battle after [the time of] Saint Trdat. Xor' multiplied in the northern area and established his cultivated areas here. [Mar Abas Catina] says that it is from him that the great *naxararut'iwn* (lordship) of the Xor'xor'uni clan derives—brave, renowned men as are [folk from this clan] today prominent among us.

Aramaneak took his entire multitude and went to the northeast, descending into a deep plain which was surrounded by the lofty summits of mountains, and crossed by a murmuring river flowing from the west. The eastern plain is, as it were, lying back extending toward [the direction of the] sun[rise]. At the foot of the mountains [g38] there gush many clear streams which merge into gentle rivers. At their borders, at the base of the mountains and edges of the plain, they almost seemed like some young lads walking about with young girls. And there was a southern mountain, pointed toward the sun, with a snow-white peak which rose gradually up from the ground becoming a steep top. Indeed, this was an old man of a mountain among the younger ones, [and a wide mountain] which—as one of our countrymen said—was a three-day journey for a well-girded man to walk around. Aramaneak dwelled in the depths of this plain and also cultivated a part of the plain in the north and the foot of the mountain on the same side. He named the mountain Aragats', after his own name and his property [he named] Aragats'otn ("foot of Aragats' ").

Now the historian relates this wonderful information, that in many places in our country [the Haykids] found a few scattered men dwelling here and there, [people who were resident there] before the arrival of our native ancestor Hayk.

Aramaneak having lived [some] years fathered Aramayis, and then died after living many years. His son, Aramayis, built his dwelling on a hill by the bank of a river, and named it Armawir. As for the river, he named it Eraskh [Arax] after his grandson, Erast. And his son, Sharay—who had many children and was a big eater—he sent [g39] with all his entourage to a nearby plain which was rich and fertile where not a few streams flowed on the northern flank of the mountain called Aragats. It is said that the district of Shirak is named after him. Thus it seems that the proverb which circulates among the villagers is justified: "You may have the throat of Sharay, but we do not have the granaries of Shirak." This Aramayis lived some years and fathered a son, Amasia. Then [Aramayis] died, after living some more years.

Amasia dwelt in Armawir; after some years he fathered Gegham, and after Gegham, the valiant P'ar'ox and Ts'olak. After fathering them, he crossed the river near the southern mountain and built there by the caves at the foot of the mountain two houses at great expense: one to the east near the sources of the springs that emerge from the base of the

mountain, and the other to the west of this dwelling, distant about half a long day's journey for a man on foot. [Amasia] gave these in inheritance to his two sons, the valiant P'ar'ox and the swift Ts'olak. The latter dwelt in them and named the places after themselves: P'ar'axot from P'ar'ox, and Ts'olakert from Ts'olak. Amasia named the mountain Masis after himself, and then he returned to Armawir. Having lived a few years longer, he died.

Gegham, after the passsage of some years, became the father of Harmay, in Armawir [g40]. Then [Gegham] left Harmay in Armawir to dwell with his sons, and he himself went to the northeast around another mountain, to the shore of a lake. He cultivated a place by the shore of the lake, and left inhabitants there. After his own name, he called the mountain Gegh, the cultivated place Geghark'uni, and also the lake [Lake Geghark'uni/Sevan]. It was here that [Gegham] fathered his son, Sisak, an exalted, personable, handsome, eloquent man, and an excellent archer. It was to Sisak that [Gegham] gave most of his property and many of his personal servants. He set the borders of his inheritance [extending] from the lake in the east to a plain where the River Araxes cuts through the mountains' caves, flows through the long and narrow gorges, and with an awesome roar descends to the plain. Here is where Sisak dwelled, and he filled the boundaries of his habitation with cultivation. He called that land Siwnik', after his own name; however, the Persians more accurately call it Sisakan. Vagharsh, the first Parthian king of the Armenians, found here his [Sisak's] descendants, renowned men, whom he designated as lords of the land, from the line of Sisakan. That Vagharsh did this is confirmed by the history, but how it occurred we will narrate in the proper place.

Gegham returned again to the same plain, and at the foot of the same mountain [Gegh] in a small secure valley, he built a settlement (ձեռակերտ, *dzer'akert*) and gave it his own name, Geghami, which later was called Gar'ni, after his grandson, Gar'nik. From his offspring, in the time of Artashe's, grandson [g41] of Vagharshak, descended a certain youth named Varazh who was skillful in hunting deer, wild goats, and boars and was an accomplished marksman. [Artashe's] established [Gegham] [as head] of the royal hunt, and gifted him a cultivated area on the bank of the river which is called Hrazdan. They say that it is from him that the House of the Varazhnuni descends. This Gegham, as we mentioned before, became the father of Harmay after some years, then died after living additional years. He had ordered his son Harmay to reside in Armawir.

This Hayk, son of T'orgom, son of T'iras, son of Gomer, son of Japheth, was the ancestor of the Armenians; and these were his clans and descendants and their land of habitation. Subsequently they began, he says, to multiply and fill the country.

As for Harmay, he lived some years and became the father of Aram.

It is told of Aram that he performed many valiant deeds in battles and that he extended the borders of Armenia on all sides. By his name all peoples call our land [Armenia], such as

the Greeks, Armenia, and the Persians and Syrians, Armenikk'. Now if you wish, we may set forth outside this book, or omit, [Aram's] complete history and his deeds of valor, how they were done, and in whose time; otherwise [we shall include those accounts] in this one [g42].

13.

Regarding the war and victory over the inhabitants of the East, and about the death of Niwk'ar Made's.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 13.

Since executing the work you ordered is more pleasant to us than eating, drinking, and carousing is to others, we have agreed to discuss briefly and in order the wars of Hayk's descendant, Aram. [Aram] was an industrious, patriotic individual, as the same historian reveals, and he thought it better to die for his fatherland than to see the sons of foreigners trampling the borders of his patrimony, and foreigners ruling over his genuine blood relations.

This Aram, a few years before Ninus ruled over the Assyrians and Nineveh, being harassed by the peoples living around him, assembled a multitude of his own select brave men, numbering about 50,000: bowmen, powerful spearmen, young and strong, attractive of face, dexterous in battle, bravehearted, and ready for battle. [Aram] encountered [a group of] Median youths, under the leadership of a certain Niwk'ar, called Made's, a proud and warlike man [g43], at the borders of Armenia, the same historian notes. Like a robber, like the Kushans, he trampled the borders of the Armenians for two years with his horses' hooves and controlled them for two years. But suddenly, Aram came upon him before sunrise and killed the multitude of his host. He captured this same Niwk'ar, called Made's, and took him to Armawir. There, at the top of a tower of the wall, he pierced [Niwk'ar's] forehead with an iron nail, and ordered him to be hanged to the wall in the view of passersby, and all who went there. [Aram] subjected to tribute [Niwk'ar's] land as far as the mountain named Zarasp, until the kingship of Ninus over Assyria and Nineveh.

And so it came about that when Ninus began to rule in Nineveh, he remembered the grudge that his ancestor [Bel] had, having learned about it from legends. For many years he thought about revenge, hoping to wait for a convenient time for the complete extermination of the entire tribe descended from the seed of the descendants of the valiant Hayk. However, he hid his evil [intentions] as he planned such actions, due to the fear and uncertainty that his own kingdom might fall into danger. And so, he ordered [Aram] to hold that same principality without suspicion, and gave him permission to wear an ornament of pearls in his hair, and to be called the second [after Ninus]. But enough of

this [account], for the work ahead does not permit us to dwell any longer on this narration [g44].

14.

About fighting against the Assyrians, and [the Armenians'] victory; and also regarding Payapis K'aagheay, and Caesarea, and [the geographical designations] First [Armenia] and [the] other Armenias.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 14.

Let us set out in a few words what is narrated after that in the same book about [Aram's] deeds of bravery in the West and about the war with the Assyrians, explaining only the causes and significance of events and presenting a concise [account] of the lengthy work [of Mar Abas Catina].

This same Aram, on the conclusion of his war with the inhabitants of the East, advanced to the borders of Assyria with the same force. He found there a certain Barsham, from the race of giants, who was ruining his land with forty thousand armed infantry and five thousand cavalry—[an individual] who was oppressing [the inhabitants] by the severity of his taxes, and turning the surrounding areas into a desert. Aram defeated him in battle and chased him through Korduk to the Assyrian plain, killing many of his troops. Barsham himself died, overtaken by [Aram's] warriors. Barsham, because of his many deeds of valor, was deified and worshipped by the Assyrians for a long time. Aram put much of the Assyrian plain under taxation, for many years [g45].

Before us now is the work of describing his deeds of valor against the Titans in the West. [Aram] had gone to the West with [an addition] to his former [military force of] 40,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, to a place now called Caesarea in Cappadocia. He no longer had any doubts about [the security of] the [eastern and southern areas] which might result from conflicts, since the eastern and southern areas had already been conquered and he had entrusted [their rule] to two clans—the east to the Sisakans and [the south,] Assyria, to House of Cadmus. So as he was spending a long time in the West, he encountered in battle the Titan Payapis Kaagheay who had seized the territory between the two great seas —the Pontus and the Ocean. [Aram] fought him and put him to flight, expelling him to an island in the Asian sea. Then [Aram] returned to Armenia, leaving over that land a certain member of his clan named Mshak, with 10,000 troops.

[Aram] issued an order to the inhabitants of the land to learn the Armenian speech and language. Therefore to this day the Greeks call that area Prote Armenia, which translated means "First Armenia." And the estate which Mshak, Aram's lieutenant, had built in his

own name and fortified with low walls was called Mazhak by the old inhabitants of the land [g46], since they were unable to pronounce it correctly, until it was later enlarged by some people and called Caesarea. In the same manner, he filled many uninhabited areas with residents, from that place up to his own borders, [areas] which were called Second and Third Armenia, and also Fourth. This is the primary and true reason for the naming of the western areas First and Second as well as Third and Fourth [Armenia]. Whatever else is said by some in the Greek areas does not please us; others [may think] as they wish.

Now [Aram] became so mighty and renowned that the peoples around us to this day, as everyone knows, call our land by his name. He performed many other deeds of bravery, but we will confine ourselves to those mentioned above.

But regarding why such [accounts] were not written in the original books of the [Mesopotamian] kings, or in the [Mesopotamian] temple histories, let no one doubt or hesitate. [This happened] first, because [Aram lived] prior to the time of the reign of Ninus, [in a period] when no one bothered about such things. Second, because they saw no need or urgent necessity to write down in the books of their own kings or temples the ancient reports and ancestral stories of foreign peoples and remote lands. This was especially the case since, for them, the valor and brave deeds of foreign peoples were not objects of boasting or glorifying. But although they were not [recorded] in their original books, nonetheless, as Mar Abas Catina relates, they were collected by some lesser and [g47] obscure men from the ballads of *gusan*s and are found in the royal divan.

This same man mentions another reason, namely, that, as I have heard, Ninus was proud and self-centered, and so he wanted to show that he alone was the origin of empire and of all bravery and everything good. Consequently, he ordered that many books and stories of the ancients concerning deeds of valor performed in various places and by various people be burned. As for what was [recorded] in his own time [Ninus ordered that the writing of it] should be suspended, and only things concerning himself should be written down. But it is superfluous for us to repeat this.

As for Aram, after some years he became the father of Ara, and after many more years of life, he died.

15.

About Ara and his death in warfare with Shamiram/Semiramis.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 15.

Ara commenced overseeing his patrimony a few years before the death of Ninus. He was granted [sovereignty] over it having been deemed worthy by Ninus, like his father Aram. Now it came about that the lustful and lascivious Shamiram for many years had been hearing about his good looks and was desirous of achieving her aims, but [at the time] she did not dare to do anything openly. However, after the death of Ninus—or, as I believe, after Ninus' flight to Crete—she gave free reign to her sickness and sent envoys to Ara [g48] the Handsome with gifts and offerings, with many entreaties and promises of [more] gifts that he should come to her in Nineveh and [either] marrying her, reign over everything that Ninus had reigned over, or else after fulfilling her will and desire, return to his own place in peace and with great rewards.

Despite the frequent traffic of [Shamiram's] messengers, Ara did not agree [to her proposals]. Transported into a rage, [Shamiram] stopped sending messengers, gathered a multitude of her troops, and hastened to go against Ara in the country of the Armenians. But, as was clear from her face, she did not so much want to kill him or expel him as to subdue him and get him in her grasp so that he would satisfy her desire. For in the foolishness of her great passion, [merely] at the reports about him she had become madly inflamed as if she had actually seen him. She arrived in a hurry at the plain of Ara, which was named Ayrarat after him. When the battle line was formed, she ordered her military commanders that they should let Ara live, if possible. However, in the battle, Ara's army was defeated and Ara himself was killed by Shamiram's warriors. After the victory, the queen sent [scouts] to the site of the battle to find the object of her desire, her beloved one, among the fallen bodies and to steal the corpse. They found Ara dead amidst his warriors, and she ordered them to place [his body] in the upper room of her palace [g49].

When the troops of the Armenians again were roused to fight with Queen Shamiram, to avenge the death of Ara, she said: "I have ordered my gods to lick his wounds and bring him back to life." And indeed, she really believed that she could revive Ara by the magic of her sorcery, being mad with lust for her darling. However, when his corpse began to decay, she ordered that it be thrown into a deep pit and covered up. Then, having secretly dressed up one of her lovers [to look like Ara], she spread the following [rumor] about him: "The gods licked (the wounds) of Ara and, restoring him to life, have fulfilled our wish and pleasure. Therefore, henceforth, they are even more worthy of worship and glorification among us, as they fulfill our pleasures and accomplish our desires." [Shamiram] then erected some new idol to the glory of the gods and revered it with great sacrifices, wanting to show everyone that it was the power of these gods, supposedly, which had brought Ara back to life. And she spread these reports about him throughout this country of the Armenians and convinced everyone, thereby bringing the war to an end.

As regards Ara, let what we have recorded in brief be sufficient. He lived some years and became the father of Kardos.

16.

How Shamiram built the city and aqueduct and her own home after Ara's death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 16.

After these successful events, Shamiram lingered not a few days in the plain named after Ara [g50], Ayrarat. She went out to the mountainous region on the southern side of the land because it was summertime and she wanted to enjoy the flowering meadows and plains. Seeing the beauty of the country, the purity of the air, the clearness of the flowing streams, and the gurgling of the fast rivers, she said: "In such a temperate climate and purity of waters and countryside we must build a city and palace, so that we may spend a quarter of the year, the summer season, in Armenia because of all its charms. The other three cooler seasons we shall spend in Nineveh."

Passing through many areas, she arrived at the eastern shore of a salt lake. On the shore of the lake she saw a long hill whose length ran toward the setting sun. To the north it sloped somewhat, but to the south it looked straight up to heaven, with a cave in the vertical rock. To the south of the hill there opened out a wide meadow like a plain, descending from the mountain on the east to the edge of the lake—a spacious and beautiful valley through which ran streams of sweet water. These streams, descending from the mountain and flowing through the valleys and meadows, accumulated in the crevices at the base of the mountains, and then spread out as extensive and luxurious rivers. There were not a few cultivated areas in the valley, built on both sides of the waters, and to the east of the hill that she liked was situated a low mountain [g51].

After careful examination, it was here, to this desired spot that Shamiram, resolute and lascivious, ordered to be brought at once 42,000 regular workers from Assyria and other lands under her sway and 6,000 chosen from her most talented craftsmen in wood and stone, bronze and iron, who were [experts] most proficient in their skills. And the work was completed according to her command. Immediately a diverse multitude of workers and expert craftsmen was brought in. First she ordered that an aqueduct [or dam/reservoir] of unlimited width and height should be built for the river, made from pieces of rocks and massive bolders, cemented with mortar and sand. It has remained firm, as they say, until the present time. And in the crevices of the aqueduct nowadays, as we hear, people from the land entrench themselves for robbery and hide, using it a place of refuge from flight, as though they were as secure here as they would be on the rocky summits of mountains. Moreover, should anyone make the attempt, he would be unable to remove from the structure of the aqueduct even a [small] stone suitable for a sling, no matter how hard he might try. And if one were to examine the skill of the cementing around the stones, it would appear to him [so smooth that it seemed] to have been made with melted lard. In

this manner she extended the aqueduct over many stadia and brought it to the place designated for the city [g52].

There she ordered the crowd [of workmen] to be divided into many groups and over each group to be set chosen masters of the craft. And thus, by maintaining strict discipline, within a few years she completed the marvelous [city, built] with strong walls and bronze gates. Inside the city she also built many choice palaces, adorned with stones of various colors, [structures] of two and three stories, each one turned to the sun where possible. The sections of the city were divided by beautiful broad avenues. In the middle of the city she built some delightful baths for people's needs, with admirable art. She diverted part of the river through the city to serve every necessity and for the irrigation of the parks and flower gardens. The rest she made run along the shore of the lake to the right and left, to irrigate the city and all the surrounding area. All the regions east, north, and south of the city she adorned with estates and with leafy trees that produced varied fruit and foliage. There she planted many types of fruit trees and wine-producing vineyards. She made the walled city absolutely splendid and magnificent, and settled there a countless multitude of inhabitants [g53].

As for the summit of the city and the different marvellous structures on it, many men cannot comprehend them nor is it possible to describe them. [Shamiram] enclosed the summit with a wall and erected there royal buildings, difficult of entry and exit. The nature of this site and construction we have not heard from anyone with accuracy, so we are unwilling to include it in our history. Let us only say that of all the royal works, this, as we have heard, is considered the first and most magnificent.

On the side of the rock that faces the sun—and it is rock of such hardness that today one cannot scratch a line on it even with iron—[Shamiram carved out] various chambers and rooms, treasuries, and deep recesses—such astonishing things that no one knows how they were built. Over the entire surface of the rock, smoothing it like wax with a stylus, she inscribed many texts, the mere sight of which makes anyone marvel. And not only this, but also in many places in the land of the Armenians she set up monuments and ordered [inscriptions] in memory of herself to be written on them in the same writing. Furthermore, in many places she fixed her boundaries with the same writing.

Now let what we have said about the deeds of Shamiram in Armenia be sufficient.

17.

About Shamiram: why she killed her sons, and how she fled to Armenia [escaping] from the mage Zoroaster/Zradasht. And how she died at the hands of her son, Ninuas

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 17.

Now since [Shamiram] was continually going to spend the summers in the northern regions, [travelling] to the summer residence that she had built in Armenia, she left as her governor and overseer for Assyria and Nineveh Zoroaster, who was a mage and also patriarch of the Medes. And Shamiram, having made this arrangement over a long period of time, entrusted him with the whole government of her realm.

Since she was often reproached by her sons for her extremely lewd and prostitute-like behavior, she killed all of them. Only the youngest, Ninuas, was spared. With no concern for her own sons, [Shamiram] bestowed all her power and treasures on her friends and lovers. Her husband Ninus had not, as is said, died and been buried by her in the palace at Nineveh. Rather, [Ninus] had abandoned his kingdom and fled to Crete, since he had become aware of her diseased and malevolent lifestyle. But when her sons attained maturity and understanding, they reminded her of all this—thinking that they would reduce her demonic passion, and that she would hand over the power and treasures to her sons. This [reproach] made her even more furious, and she killed all of them. Only Ninuas remained, as we said above [g55].

Then, due to some errors [committed] by Zoroaster toward the queen, strife arose between them. Shamiram waged war against him, because the Mede planned to tyrannize over everyone. When the war intensified, Shamiram fled from Zoroaster, going to Armenia. Ninuas, finding the time appropriate for his revenge, killed his mother and then he himself ruled over Assyria and Nineveh. So we have now explained the cause and circumstances of Shamiram's death.

18.

Concerning the certainty that Shamiram first waged war in India and later died in Armenia.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 18.

I am aware [of the account] of Cephalion [and will mention it] so that we do not provide [an excuse] for many [folk] to laugh at us. For among many other topics, [Cephalion] mentions first the birth of Shamiram, then Shamiram's war with Zoroaster, which he says she won, followed by warfare with the Indians. More reliable to us than this seems the account by Mar Abas Catina [made] through examination of the Chaldean writings. For [the latter] wrote in a consistent style and reveals the causes of the war. Furthermore, the fables of our own land confirm the learned Assyrian [author's account], when they speak of the death of Shamiram here, her flight on foot, her thirst and desire for water, and the

quenching of her thirst; and, when the armed men [pursuing her] drew near, the [throwing of] the amulet into the sea, and the saying derived from that: "The pearls of Shamiram [thrown] into the sea." But if you delight in fables: [know that] Shamiram [was turned into] stone before Niobe. But enough of this. Now we must describe what happened subsequently [g56].

19.

What transpired after the death of Shamiram.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 19.

Having put everything in order, I shall present to you in this book the greatest men and ancestors of our people, the stories that concern them, and each one's deeds—not inserting anything fictitious or improper, but only what has been taken from books and, similarly, from wise men learned in these matters. From [these sources] we have attempted to make an accurate collection [relating to] antiquities. And I will say that in this history we adhere to the truth according to our commitment to truthfulness. God knows that our [entire] collection has been made according to these principles. But whether people will praise or criticize it is of no importance to us. Nonetheless, the conformity of the accounts and the equivalence of the numbers of descendants suggest the accuracy of our labor. Having arranged all this in such a fashion, either with [complete] certainty, or with minor deviations from the truth, I shall begin to tell you about further events from the history [called] the *Web of Chries*.

Now after the death of Shamiram, caused by her own son Zames, that is, Ninuas, which occured following the killing of Ara, we can know for certain the order of the following events. Ninuas came to the throne and lived in peace after killing his lascivious mother. It was in his time that the days of Abraham came to an end [g57].

Genealogies

The agreement of the genealogy of our people with those of the Hebrews and Chaldeans down to Sardanapalus, who was called Tawnos Konkoleros.

From the Hebrews

Isaac
Jacob
Levi
Kahat'
Amram
Moses
Joshua

After him, [leaders are listed] not according to family but by their precedence, and all of them descend from Abraham. Now when it came about that Joshua killed the Canaanites, [some of them] fled from him to Agras, sailing for Tarsis. [The truth of] this can be seen from the inscriptions on stone pillars, in the land of the Africans [g58], which have survived to this day, on which is written precisely this: "We, the Canaanite lords, fled from the thief Joshua, and came here to dwell." One of them—our most venerable K'ananidas—[appeared here] among the Armenians. We made inquiries and found out, accurately, that the generations of the Gnt'uni family undoubtedly descend from him. Moreover, the character of men of this family reveal them to be Canaanites.

[From the Canaanites]

Got'onie'l
Avod
Barak
Gideon
Abimelek
T'ola
Yayir
Ep't'ayi
Esebon
Eghon
Ghabdon
Samson
Heghi
Samuel
Saul
David, and his descendants [g59].

The Chaldeans

Arios
Ar'alios, [who is] Amiwr'os
Xerxes, [who is] Baghe'os

Ar'mamit'r'e'os
Belok'os
Bale'os
Aghtados
Mamit'os
Mask'aghe'os
Sp'eros
Mamighos
Sparet'os
Askatade's
Aminte's
Belok'os
Baghotor'e's [g60]
Ghampar'ite's
Susar'is
Ghampar'is
Pannias
Sosar'mos
Mit'r'eos
Tewtamos
Tewte'os
T'inews
Der'kiwghos
Ewpaghmos
Ghawost'enis
Per'itiade's
Op'r'atios
P'r'atinis
Akr'azanis
Sardanapaghos [Sardanapalus] [g61].

The Armenians

Ara, [son] of Ara.

He is the son of our Ara, called Ara by Shamiram. She entrusted him with the overseership of our land. From him [descend]:

Anushawan
Pare't
Arbak
Zawan

P'ar'nak
Sur

In his time lived Joshua son of Naw.

Hawanak
Vashtak
Haykak

They say about him that he lived in the time of Belok'os and that he caused senseless riots and died in them.

Ampak
Ar'nak
Shawarsh
Norayr
Vstamkar
Gor'ak
Hrant
E''ndzak'
Gzak
Ho'roy
Zarmayr [g62]

He was sent by Tewtamos to help Priam with the Ethiopian army and was killed by the braves of the Hellenes.

Perch
Arbun
Bazuk
Hoy
Yusak
Kaypak
Skayordi

20.

About Ara, the [son] of Ara, and his son, Anushawan Sawsanue'r.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 20.

Ara had fathered a son from his beloved wife, Nuard, during Shamiram's lifetime, a boy who was twelve years old at the time of Ara's death. Shamiram named him Ara after her earlier infatuation for Ara the Handsome. She set him up as overseer of our land, having full confidence in him. [Some] say that [this Ara also] died in a war with Shamiram.

But [Mar Abas Catina] narrates affairs after this as follows: Ara [son of] Ara, died in the war with Shamiram, leaving a male child who was exceedingly accomplished and gifted in word and deed. [This child] was named Anushawan So'sanue'r [dedicated to the *sos* tree] [g63].

[He was so called] because he had been dedicated to the worship of the *sos* [poplar tree] at [the grove of] Aramaneak in Armawir. The rustling of their leaves and the direction of their movement at the gentler or stronger blowing of the wind was used for divination in the land of the Armenians, [a practice which] went on for a long time.

This Anushawan, who had endured Zames' [Ninuas'] contempt for a long time, was embittered at the royal court. But helped by friends, he gained control over part of the land, accumulated money through taxation, and later [gained control] over the whole land. However, it would be far too much if we were to repeat in this account everything worthwhile in the words and deeds of the men mentioned above.

21.

Paruyr, son of Skyordi, becomes the first king among the Armenians; he helps the Mede Varbak to take possession of [the Median] kingdom from Sardanapalus.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 21.

Leaving out of our narration [material] which is least important, let us discuss the most important. I will name our Paruyr as the last of those [rulers] who lived under Assyrian domination, from [the time of] Shamiram or Ninus. [Paruyr lived during the time of] Sardanapalus, and [Paruyr] provided considerable assistance to the Mede Varbak in wresting the kingdom from Sardanapalus.

At this point, I will rejoice with no small delight [g64], since I have reached the point [in my *History*] when the descendants of our original ancestor reached the level of [having] kingship. Therefore it is right for us now to make great efforts here and to present a lot of information. As the basis for such information we considered it worthwhile that we ourselves should read the four sections ["rhapsodies," of a history] of that eloquent and wise man, indeed the wisest of wise men.

Varbake's the Mede, who hailed from the most remote part of that inaccessible district, was very cunning in his conduct and renowned in battle. [Varbake's], being aware of the unmanly lifestyle and pleasure-loving softness and sloth of T'on Konkogher'os [Sardanapalus], through his generosity and liberality gained friends among the warriors and noteworthy men by whom the Assyrian empire at that time was being governed with great and evident stability. He attracted to himself our valiant *naxarar* (lord) Paroyr, promising him the splendor and attributes of kingship. In addition, he assembled many groups of brave men who were expert with the lance, bow, and sword. Thus he seized the kingdom for himself from Sardanapalus and ruled over Assyria and Nineveh. However [after this], leaving others as governors for Assyria, he transferred the [seat of the] kingdom to Media [g65].

Now should others narrate this [information] differently, do not be surprised. For as we observed above, in an earlier section the blame for [the lack of information] was due to the unscholarly dispositions of our first ancestors. Here, too [in describing later times], the same [situation obtains]. While the deeds of the father of Nebuchadnezzar were written down by those who supervised [writing] their [Assyrian] memorials, [here, in Armenia] since our own people did not think to do such a thing, [only] in recent times have [the deeds of the noteworthy] been recorded. So if you ask: "From what [sources] did we learn the names of our ancestors and the deeds of many of them?" I reply: "From the ancient archives of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Persians, since their names and deeds were entered by the court secretary [on deeds] listing them as appointees over our land, as overseers and great governors."

22.

The order of our kings and their number, from father to son.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 22.

Now I shall pass on to enumerating our [noteworthy] men, especially those who were kings up to the time of the lordship of the Parthians. For such men among our kings are as dear to me as my very own blood relations and true brothers. I would be happy if the Savior had appeared at that time and redeemed me and I had been born into the world under them [the Armenian kings] [g66], to enjoy the pleasures of their rule, avoiding the present troubles [of our day]. But that situation [*i.e.*, self-rule] or even the chance for it escaped us long ago. Now I, living during the reign of foreigners, shall set forth the order of the kings of our people next to theirs. The native monarchs of our land were those men whose names we shall record below.

That there truly was a kingdom of our people in that [ancient] period is attested by [a passage in the Biblical book of] the prophet Jeremiah in his words inviting [other peoples] to come to war against Babylon. He said: "Order [to come forth] the kingdom of Ayrarat and the brigade of Ask'anaz" [Jer. 51:2], which [passage] authenticates the existence of our kingdom in that period.

Now let us present the order of our [kings] alongside [the chronology] of the kings of the Medes:

The First Median [kings were]:

Varbake's
Mo'dakis
So'sarmos
Ar'tikas
De'ovkis
P'r'awortis
Kwak'sare's
Azhdahak [g67].

Our first [kings] crowned by Varbake's the Mede

Paroyr, son of Skayordi
Hrach'eay

This Hrach'eay was so named because of his very radiant face and fiery eyes. They say that in his day lived Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians, who took the Jews captive. They say that [Hrach'eay] requested from Nechuchadnezzar one of the chief of the Hebrew captives, named Shambat, who was brought and settled in our country with great honor. It is from him, historians say, that the Bagratuni clan/family (*azg*) descends. And that is the truth. Later we shall relate in detail what efforts our kings made to make them submit to idol worship, and about [the Bagratids' losses] how many of them, and who they were that paid with their lives for worshipping God. For some unreliable men say, willfully and not truthfully, that it was from Hayk [g68] that your Bagratuni clan, [clan of] the coronants, descended. Therefore I say, "Do not believe such foolish words since there is no trace or sign of reality or verisimilitude in them. For these are disordered babblings and nonsensical words [supposedly] about Hayk and his kind. But know that this name Smbat, which the Bagratunik' often give to their children, is in truth Shambat' in their original language, Hebrew."

P'ar'navaz
Pachoych
Kor'nak

P'ar'os
The other Haykak
Eruand the Short-lived
Tigran

I believe that the later Eruand and Tigran were named after these [people in the list], in the hope [of resembling them]; the time was not very distant, and someone remembered these names [g69].

23.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 23.

About the sons of Senek'erim, from whom are descended the Artsruni and the Gnuni [Houses] and the [House of the] one called the bdeashx of Aghdznik'; and, in the same chapter, that the House of Angegh descends from Pask'am.

Before we undertake our account of Tigran the Great—a robust, renowned, and triumphant figure among world rulers, who was the ninth of our crowned native [kings]—let us mention what is most important for the coherence of our narration. We have forgotten to mention Senek'erim. Senek'erim had become king of Assyria some 80 years or so years before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. [It was King] Senek'erim who had besieged Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah, the leader of the Jews. But [Senek'erim's] sons, Adramelek' and Sanasar, killed him and fled to us.

Skayordi, our brave ancestor, settled one of them in the southwestern [part] of our land, near the border of the same Assyria. This [brother] was Sanasar, and his descendants grew and multiplied and filled the mountain called Sim. Subsequently, the grandest and chiefs among them, having displayed some significant merit toward our king [g70], were deemed worthy of receiving the [position] of border lordship (*bdeshxut'iwn*) of those areas. As for [the other brother,] Ardamozan, he inhabited [land] to the southeast of the same area, and from him, says the historian [Mar Abbas Catina], descend the Artsruni and Gnuni. This is the reason for our recalling Senek'erim.

The same historian says that the House of Angegh descends from a certain Pask'am, grandson of Hayk.

24.

Regarding Tigran, what kind of person he was in everything.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 24.

Now let us move on to Tigran and his deeds, for he was the most powerful and intelligent of our kings, who surpassed in courage not only them [the other Armenian kings], but all others. He aided Cyrus in ending the overlordship of the Medes, and he conquered the Greeks and made them subject to himself for no short period of time. He extended the borders of our habitation and established them at their extreme limits in antiquity. He aroused the envy of all his contemporaries, and his life and period have been cherished by those who came after him [g71].

Who among true men and those who appreciate deeds of valor and reason would not be gladdened by his memory, and aspire to become such a man? Bravely leading men and displaying his valor, he exalted our nation. We, who had been under a yoke [to others], he put in a position to subject and demand tribute from many [others]. He increased the stores of gold and silver and precious stones, of garments and fabrics of various colors, both for men and women. By such means, the most ugly [people] seemed to be attractive, while the [already] attractive, according to the conceptions of the time, were [made as attractive] as deities. The [former] infantry, [now transformed into cavalry], was carried on the backs of horses. The slingers were [now] all skilled archers. Those with clubs were [now] armed with swords and lances. [Even] the [previously] unarmed [fighters] were entirely protected by shields and iron armor. Just the sight of them gathered in one place, with the brilliance and sparkle of their armor and weapons, was enough to put the enemy to flight. [Tigran] the bringer of peace and prosperity, fattened everyone with oil and honey.

Benefits like these and many besides were brought to our land by Tigran, son of Eruand. He had light-colored hair that curled at the ends [g72], and he was physically attractive with a fine complexion, a gentle-eyed gaze, broad-shoulders, strong legs and noble feet. [He also was] moderate in eating and drinking at feasts. As our ancients, who played the *p'andir'*, [musical instrument] would sing, [Tigran] was moderate in the desires of the flesh, wise and eloquent, and endowed with all human virtues. What could be more pleasant for me in this book than to write about the accolades he received and the stories associated with him? Fair and impartial in judging all things, he mentally weighed the way of life of everyone on scales. He did not envy the best, and did not despise the inferior, but strived to spread the cloak of his caring equally over all.

Now formerly, [Tigran] was an ally of Azhdahak the Mede and had given his own sister, Tigranuhi, in marriage to him, as [Azhdahak] had greatly desired this. For the latter said [to himself]: either such an alliance will lead to a stable friendship with Tigran, or [if it fails to do this], it will be easier to eliminate him through assassination. For there was a suspicion [about Tigran] due to some unexpected prophecy about the future events [g73].

25.

About Azhdahak's fear and doubt over the friendly unity between Cyrus and Tigran.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 25.

The cause of such reflections was the warm alliance between Cyrus and Tigran. Because of this [alliance], sleep fled from Azhdahak whenever he thought about it, and he was constantly asking his counselors about it: "With what stragems," he asked, "can we break the bonds of friendship between the Persian and the Armenian with his tens of thousands [of troops]?" While [Azhdahak] was troubled with these thoughts he had a vision of the future through a prophetic dream, which he [Mar Abas Catina] relates as follows:

26.

How Azhdahak, in his suspicion, saw his future destiny in a marvellous dream.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 26.

In those days, he says, the alliance between Cyrus and Tigran posed no small threat to Azhdahak. [Because of the threat and] from the disturbed state of his mind, a vision appeared to him [g74] at night, such as he had never seen with his eyes or heard with his ears while awake. Waking up suddenly, he did not wait for the hour of the council [meeting] according to established custom. Rather, he summoned his counselors [at once], even though there were still several hours of night remaining. With a sad face and downcast gaze, he sighed from the depths of his heart. When the counselors asked him why that was, he delayed his response for some hours. Finally, with a groan, [Azhdahak] began to reveal all that had been hidden in his heart—thoughts and doubts and also the details of the frightening vision.

"O dear ones, it happened to me today that I found myself in an unfamiliar land, near a mountain which rose high above the earth and whose peak seemed to be covered with thick ice. One might have said that this was the country of the Armenians. As I gazed for a long time at the mountain, some woman dressed in purple and with a veil the color of the sky appeared seated at the top of that great height. Her eyes were lovely, she was tall, with red cheeks, and she was seized with labor pains. As I looked for a long time [g75] in astonishment at this sight, the woman suddenly gave birth to three heroes, fully grown in height and nature. The first of them jumped on a lion and rushed to the west; the second—on a leopard—headed north; the third, having bridled a monstrous dragon, swiftly attacked our realm.

In the midst of such confused dreams it seemed to me that I was standing on the roof of my royal palace. I observed that the surface was adorned with beautiful tents of many colors. The gods who crowned me were present in a wonderful spectacle, and I, along with you, was honoring them with sacrifices and incense. Suddenly I looked up and saw the man who was riding the dragon (which flew as though with eagle's wings), bearing down [on us]. He was already close by, intending to destroy the gods. But I, Azhdahak, throwing myself between them, received this attack upon myself and came to grips with the fantastic hero. First we both struck each other's body with the tips of spears, causing streams of blood to flow. The roof of the palace that shone like the sun we turned into a sea of blood. Thus, and later with other arms, we fought for not a few hours [g76].

But what good does it do me to prolong the narration? For the matter ended with my destruction. [The vision] put me into a great sweat and sleep fled from me. After that, [from fear] I did not seem to be alive. The action in these visions indicates nothing except that Tigran the Armenian is about to come upon us in a violent attack. Beyond help from the gods, I wonder who [among you, as a reward] would not like to become our fellow king, by offering us advice useful in word and deed?"

And having heard many useful opinions from his advisers, he honored them with gratitude.

27.

About the advice of his advisors, his own thoughts, and the course of action he took at once.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 27.

"My dear ones, having heard many thoughtful and wise words from you, I will now tell you which of them, with the help of the gods, I consider to be the most useful advice. For nothing brings greater advantage, when one is taking precautions against enemies and wants to know their plans, than for someone—through the pretense of friendship—to plot their destruction. Moreover, we can accomplish this now, not through money [g77] or deceitful words but only in the way that I have decided to act. The executor of my plan, and the bait for the trap, will be his sister Tigranuhi, the most beautiful and intelligent among women. We could conduct quite a large conspiracy and operate freely and unseen, due to her many connections with the outside and the goings and comings of kinfolk. [As examples,] we might on some opportune occasion, via gifts and the promise of honors, get one of [Tigran's] friends to slay him with the sword or poison him; or, through bribes, [we might] strip him of his intimates and lieutenants, and thus get our hands on him as though he were a powerless child."

[Azhdahak's] friends considered such a plan to be effective, and set to work on its implementation. To one of his advisors, [Azhdahak] gave a large amount of treasure and sent him off with a letter having the following contents:

28.

Azhdahak's letter, followed by Tigran's acceptance [of its proposal], and Tigranuhi's journey to Media.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 28.

> "You, my dear brother, know that the gods have bestowed upon us in our life in this world nothing more useful than [the gift of having] a great number of friends, and especially really wise and powerful ones. For then there are no hostile encroachments from the outside to disturb us, and if [problems] do arise they are quickly suppressed. Now, seeing that such a beneficial situation derives from friendship, I have thought to further strengthen and deepen the love which exists between us. Then we may both be secure on every side and also keep our empires strong and unshakable. And this will happen if you give me in marriage the princess of Greater Armenia, your sister, Tigranuhi—if indeed you consider it a good thing for her to become queen of queens [of Media]. Be well our fellow sovereign and beloved brother."

Without lengthening the narration, let me say that the envoy arrived and made arrangements for [the marriage of] the beautiful princess, since Tigran had consented to give his sister, Tigranuhi, in marriage to Azhdahak. Not knowing of the plot [being prepared], he sent off his sister according to royal custom. And Azhdahak received her, not only because of the deceit in his heart, but because of her beauty, and made her first among his women, [all the while] weaving an evil web in the background [g79].

29.

How the treachery was revealed, and how the war was provoked in which Azhdahak himself perished.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 29.

After this [Mar Abas Catina] says that once Azhdahak had established Tigranuhi as queen, he did nothing without her consent in his kingdom. Indeed, at her word he regulated everything and ordered everyone to obey her. Having arranged everything this

way, he gradually began to ply her with dishonest statements. "You do not know it, but your brother Tigran, incited by his wife Zaruhi, is envious of your authority over the Aryans. And what will be the result of this? Nothing other than that first I will die and then Zaruhi will reign over the Aryans and occupy that place among the goddesses? Now you have one of these choices: either remain friendly with your brother and accept disgraceful ruin in the eyes of the Aryans, or, for your own good, contribute some useful advice and take heed for the future."

Concealed within such cunning was the [hidden] threat of Tigranuhi's [own] death if she should think of anything contrary to the wishes of the Medo-Persian. But the perceptive and beautiful [Tigranuhi] discerned this treachery and replied to Azhdahak in loving words—but she quickly informed her brother of the treachery through trusted [people] [g80].

After that, [Azhdahak] set to work [on his trap, suggesting to Tigran] through an embassy that they should meet somewhere on the border of the two realms for mutual discussions, as if some pressing matter or business had arisen that could not be handled by means of a letter or an exchange of messengers but only if the two met face to face. However Tigran, understanding what the end result of the proposal would be, did not hide the fact that he knew all about Azhdahak's plot. Instead, in a letter [to Azhdahak, Tigran] revealed what was [hidden in] the depths of his heart. And when such evil was exposed, no words, no tricks could cover it with a veil. After that, open warfare broke out.

The king of the Armenians assembled [troops] from the territory of the Cappadocians, as well as select [troops] from the Iberians and Aghuans, and all the select troops from Greater and Lesser Armenia. And he advanced with this entire multitude to the Median areas. At that point, this danger compelled Azhdahak to muster a not small host to engage the Armenian in battle. However, the conflict was delayed for five [additional] months because as soon as Tigran recalled his beloved sister, [the idea of] a swift and successful attack faded. He tried to arrange the outcome of events in such a way that a means could be found to save Tigranuhi. Once this had been achieved, the hour of battle approached [g81].

I praise my valiant champion, [Tigran], the lancer well proportioned in all his limbs and perfect in stature, for he was vigorous, able to do everything appropriately, and in strength he had no equal. But why do I prolong my account? When the battle began, [Tigran] with his spear split open Azhdahak's iron armor like it was water. The tip of the spear went right through him, and when [Tigran] drew it out again, half of [Azhdahak's] lungs came out with his weapon. The combat was magnificent, for braves fought against other braves, and they did not turn their backs to each other very quickly. Therefore the battle stretched out over many hours. But the death of Azhdahak brought it to an end. And this incident, which added to his successes, increased Tigran's glory.

30.

Concerning how [Tigran] sent his sister, Tigranuhi, to Tigranakert, and about Azhdahak's first wife, Anoysh, and the settlement of the prisoners.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 30.

It is also related that after the conclusion of these events, [Tigran] sent his sister, Tigranuhi, in royal style and with a great host, to the hamlet in Armenia [g82] which he had built and named after his own name, Tigranakert, and he ordered that the district should be given to her in service. And [Mar Abas Catina] says that the freedom of those areas, named *ostan*, derives from that line, as a royal line.

As for Anoysh, the first among Azhdahak's wives, [Tigran] settled her and many girls and boys from the seed of Azhdahak along with more than 10,000 prisoners [on territory extending] from the eastern flank of the great mountain as far as the borders of Gogh't'n, that is Tambat, Oskioghay, Dazhgoynk', and the other estates (*dastakertk'*) on the bank of the river, including Vranjunik', as far as opposite the fortress of Nakhchawan, and the three towns of Khram, Jughay, and Khorshakunik' on the other side of the river, [from] the entire plain, whose head is Azhdanakan, as far as the same fortress of Nakhchawan. Now as regards the aforementioned Queen Anoysh, [Tigran] settled her and her children on the extensive crags of the summit of the great mountain. (These came into being from a terrible earthquake—as say those [explorers] who, at the command of Ptolemy, made many journeys and have measured in stadia [areas of] human habitation and also in part [g83] the sea and the uninhabited land from the torrid zone as far as Cimmeria.) [Tigran] gave servants to Anoysh from among the same Medes who lived at the foot of the mountain.

This is confirmed by the rhythmic songs that the inhabitants the district of Gogh't'n, rich in wine, have carefully preserved, as I hear. These include the series of songs about Artashe's and his sons. [The events] are recalled in allegorical fashion and also about the descendants of Azhdahak, whom they call descendants of the dragon, since Azhdahak in our [Armenian] language means "dragon." They say that Argawan arranged a feast in honor of Artashe's and that there was a plot against him in the court of the dragons. They also say that Artawazd, the brave son of Artashe's, did not find a place for [building] his mansion when [the city of] Artashat was founded. And so, he went and built [the place called] Marakert among the Medes, which is on the plain called Sharur. They say that Queen Sat'inik [at her wedding banquet] longingly craved the vegetable *artakhur* and the shoot *tits'* from the table of Argawan.

I wonder, are you not more astonished now at the truth of our narration, at how we have revealed the secrets of the dragons who live on the slopes of Azat Masis [g84]?

31.

Concerning who [Tigran's] descendants were, and the clans deriving from him.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 31.

It has been pleasant for me, as a historian, to give an accurate account of the original and first Tigran, the son of Eruand, and to describe his deeds. O readers, may it also be [pleasant] for you to know about the man and his deeds, and [to have] a [written] account of them. It [similarly] pleases me to arrange [the Armenian rulers] according to [their] bravery, in this order: Hayk, Aram, and Tigran. Their descendants also were braves. As for those of second rank, let each one define them as he choses. Now when it comes to opinions about demigods, what we are relating is true: There is no [real god called] Aramazd, but among those who want [Aramazd to exist], it is heard that there are four or more different Aramazds, of which [only] one is a certain Kund (Bald) Aramazd. Thus, similarly, although many bore the name Tigran, only this particular one, a descendant of Hayk, is the one who killed Azhdahak, and led his House into captivity, including Anoysh, mother of the dragons. [It was this particular Tigran] who, with the willing help and encouragement of Cyrus, seized for himself the power of the Medes and Persians.

[Tigran's] sons were Pap, Tiran, and Vahagn. About [the latter] the legends of our land relate:

> The sky was in labour, the earth was in labour,
> The purple sea also was in labour [g85].
> In the sea was a red reed, also in labour.
> Out of the stalk of the reed smoke emerged.
> Out of the stalk of the reed flame emerged,
> And running out of the flame was a *xarteash* ("fair, light, flaxen") lad.
> He had hair of fire.
> He had a beard of flame
> And his eyes were suns.

With our very ears we heard some people singing this to the accompaniment of the *p'andir'* [musical instrument]. In their songs they would also tell about [Vahagn] that he fought with dragons and defeated them, in exploits very much resembling the heroic deeds of Heracles. They also tell that he was deified and that in the land of the Iberians they made a sizable statue [of him] to which they offered sacrifices. From [Vahagn] descend the line of the Vahunik'. From his youngest son, Ar'awan, descend the Ar'aweneank'. He [fathered] Ar'awan, who [fathered] Nerseh, who [fathered] Zareh. From him come the clans of Zarahawanean descent. The first of this [clan] was Armok who

fathered Bagam, who fathered Vahan who fathered Vahe' . [The latter] revolted and was killed by Alexander of Macedon [g86].

From this point until the kingship of Vagharshak over the Armenians, I have nothing accurate to tell you. This is because [in that period] there was confusion caused by mobs, with one man trying to rise over the others to rule the land. As a result, it was easy for [the Parthian] Arshak the Great to enter Armenia and to set up as king over the land of the Armenians his own brother, Vagharshak.

32.

The Illium [Trojan] war in the time of Tewtamos [? Tithonus], and [the participation] of our Zarmayr with a small Ethiopian force. [Zarmayr's] death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 32.

[Movses complains to his patron that the latter wants too much: brevity, a fast pace, and lots of detail. Already, because of the speed, Movses has omitted to mention the period of Alexander of Macedon. Movses says that he will correct that now, but he does not say much about the period. This chapter may be defective (g87).]

[Movses wonders about his patron's desire for "tales," which he will now insert]

...What then are the first of such tales if not those narrated by Homer: the tale that is told about the Illium [Trojan] war in the time of Tewtamos the Assyrian, and how our Zarmayr under the rule of the Assyrians helped Priam with a small force of Ethiopians, and how [Zarmayr] was wounded there by the Hellenic braves, and was killed. I would like to think that he was killed by Achilles, and not by any of the other braves.

End of Book One, the Genealogy of Greater Armenia

From Persian Legends

Concerning Biwrasp Azhdahak.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: Concerning Biwrasp Azhdahak.

But I wonder what your delight is in the impure and ridiculous legends about Biwrasp Azhdahak. Why do you trouble us for those foolish and incoherent Persian stories, notorious for their stupidity [about Azhdahak's] first benevolence; the service paid him by the *dev*; his inability to make the fake and false prevail; the kiss on the shoulders and the birth of the dragons as a result; then [more episodes about] the increase of evil, the devouring of people for the needs of his stomach; about how a certain Hruden bound him with bronze bands and led him to the mountain called Dembavend; and [the episode describing] how Hruden fell asleep during the journey and Biwrasp dragged him to the hill; and Hruden woke up and led him to a cave in the mountain and bound him and placed himself there opposite him; cowed by him, [Biwrasp] remained subject to his chains and was unable to arise and go out to ruin the earth.

What is this longing of yours for such false legends, what need do you have for such foolish and inappropriate words? Could it be that these are Greek [g89] fables, eloquent and polished, which have meanings hidden in them allegorically? Beyond this, you are asking us to provide you with [rational] reasons for their irrationality and to adorn something that is plain. Similarly, I would [like to] ask something of you: what need do you have for this? What pleasure do you take from desiring such undesirable expositions and increasing our labor?" However, we shall provide them, since [the request] derives from your young age and your immature eagerness. Thus, we shall here satisfy that wish which you desire so much.

Description of what is believable in [the story of] Biwrasp.

Now I will freely quote from Plato: "Could someone be as a friend to oneself? It is not possible." But for you, in addition to those other impossible things which we have made possible, we shall fulfill this [request] as well. The stories and deeds which we shall describe—and especially those the mere telling of which offends our ears—I shall set down with my own hand today, giving a meaning to their meaninglessness. If only to provide you with some pleasure or useful profit, behold I shall reveal their [the Persians'] most ancient matters, which they themselves do not understand. However, be aware of the hatred we have for such [fabulous] discourse: for we did not speak of [the Persian fables] in our first book, nor did we find them worthy of inclusion even at the end of that account. Instead, [I put them here], in a separate and different place. Now I will begin with the following [g90].

The one they called Biwrasp Azhdahak, who was their ancestor, lived in the time of Nimrod [Nebrot']. At the time that the languages were divided up around the world, this [division and separation] did not happen randomly and aimlessly, but as though by divine command, the chiefs and leaders of the tribes were decided upon, each of which legally and confidently inherited his own borders. And I recognize for sure in the name Biwrasp [the name of] the Centaur Piwrid, found in a Chaldaean book. [Biwrasp], subject to Nimrod, held the headship of his clan not so much by his own valor as by wealth and

cunning. He wanted to show everyone a life in common, and he said that no one should have anything privately but, rather, shared. Everything of his was open, both word and deed. He had no hidden thoughts, for all the secrets of his heart he brought out into the open with his tongue. Day or night he permitted his friends to come and go freely. And this [communalism] is the first of his so-called wicked benefits.

Now because he was knowledgable in astrology he was eager to perfect his evil [studies] —but this proved impossible for him. As we said above, for the sake of deceiving the majority he had the habit of doing nothing in secret. However, to study openly this final and perfect evil was impossible. For such study he resorted to a bitter strategem— feigning severe pains in his stomach [g91] that could be healed in no other way than by uttering some frightful word or name, which no one could hear lightly. Adapting to this [new arrangement] the creator of the evil taught him at home and in public places, calmly putting his head on Biwrasp's shoulders and speaking into his ears, instructing him in the evil art. The legend of this states that the small demon served [Biwrasp] and fulfilled his desires and then kissed his shoulders, requesting a reward for himself.

As for the growth of the dragons, or Biwrasp's completely becoming a dragon, [the story] as is told, is this: because [Biwrasp] had begun to sacrifice to the demons an untold number of people, the multitude of the people became disgusted with him. They united together and pursued him, and he fled to the areas around the mountain mentioned above. As [the pursuers] pressed hard upon him, his host abandoned him. Assured by this, his pursuers rested for a few days in those areas. Meanwhile, Biwrasp collected those who had scattered and suddenly came upon [his pursuers], inflicting severe harm. However, the multitude [finally] gained the victory and Biwrasp fled. They seized and killed him near the mountain and threw him into a great pit of sulfur [g92].

Book Two

The Middle Portion of the History of Our Ancestors

1.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 1.

As a second book, I shall now describe for you the different events in our own land, beginning with the kingship of Alexander and continuing to the kingship of that blessed and brave man, Trdat the Great. [I shall describe] in order whatever deeds of valor, bravery, and wisdom were performed here, and also the arrangements of each one of those who descended from Arshak, king of the Persians, and his brother Vagharshak, whom he made king of our nation. The kings of our land who came after him were from his seed, the son receiving the lordship from his father, and they were called Arshakunik' [Arsacids], from Arshak. The others [of the Arsacids] grew into a large clan and multiplied, with one of them in turn following [his] predecessor onto the throne. I shall write very briefly about what concerns us and omit the rest; for what has been said about other nations by many writers is sufficient [g101].

Alexander of Macedon died after conquering the entire world. He was the son of Philip and Olympias, and the 24th from Achilles. [Before his death, Alexander] gave his empire to many [successors] by a will, with the condition that the empire of them all would be called that of the Macedonians. After him Seleucus ruled as king in Babylon, having seized the principalities of many others. Then [Seleuceus] subjected the Parthians with great warfare, and for this reason was called *Nicanor* ["Conqueror"]. He ruled for thirty-one years and left the kingdom to his son Antiochus, called Soter, [who reigned] for nineteen years. He was succeeded by Antiochus, called Theos, [who reigned] for ten years. In the eleventh [year] the Parthians rebelled from service to the Macedonians. It was then that Arshak the Brave ruled, who was of the descendants of Abraham [born] from K'etura. This was in fulfilment of what the Lord had said to Abraham: "Kings of nations will arise from you."

2.

The reign of Arshak and his sons, war with the Macedonians, and friendship with the Romans.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 2.

As we said, it was sixty years after the death of Alexander that Arshak the Brave ruled as king over the Parthians, in the city called Bahgh [g102] Ar'awo'tin, in the country of the Kushans. Through waging extremely fierce warfare, he acquired for himself the entire East. Macedonian suzereignty over Babylon also was ended. [Arshak] heard that the Romans had grown mighty in all the West and on the sea, that they had confiscated from the Spaniards the mines from which gold and silver are extracted, and that they had placed the Galatians under taxation and also the kingdom of Asia [in western Asia Minor]. Sending emissaries [Arshak] requested an alliance, so that [the Romans] would not give assistance to the Macedonians. He would not pay taxes but merely send yearly gifts of one hundred talents.

Thus did [Arshak] rule for 31 years, and after him, his son Artashe's ruled for 26 years. [Artash'es] was succeeded by his own son Arshak, called "the Great." He warred against Demetrius and Demetrius' son, Antigones, because [Antigones] had attacked him in Babylon with a Macedonian army. However, in this battle he was seized and taken captive by Arshak, who bound him and led him to Parthia in iron fetters. For this he was called *Siripindes.* When [Antigones'] brother, Antiochus Sidetes, learned about Arshak's departure, he came and occupied Assyria. Then Arshak returned with 120,000 [g103] men. Antiochus, bothered by the severe winter season, encountered him in a narrow spot and died along with his army. And Arshak ruled over a third of this world, which we learn from the fourth book of Herodotus' *Histories* of events, which deals with the division of the entire world into three parts, calling one Europe, another Libya, and another Asia—over which Arshak ruled.

3.

The enthronement of Vagharshak over the land of the Armenians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 3.

In that period, [King Arshak of Parthia] enthroned over the land of the Armenians his brother Vagharshak. He gave him the northern and western areas for borders. [Vagharshak], as we wrote in our first book, was a valiant and prudent man. He extended his authority over his territories; and as far as he was able, established order in the way of life of the country. [He instituted] the *naxarar*doms (lordships) and their *nahapet*s (patriarchs) designating [for them] competent men from among the descendants of our ancestor Hayk and others.

[Vagharshak], the valiant Parthian, set about doing benevolent deeds after he had restrained the Macedonians and put an end to the wars. First and foremost, he rewarded for his good deeds Shambat Bagratuni, a powerful and wise man, who was Jewish. [Vagharshak] granted him the familial [hereditary] right to place the crown on [the heads of] [g104] the Arshakunis/Arsacids, and [also made it so] that the family to arise from [Shambat] would be called Bagratuni after his name. This [clan/family] is now a great lordship in our land. For this Bagarat had voluntarily offered his services to Vagharshak when he was at the royal court—before Arshak's wars against the Macedonians. Then he was made lieutenant over the limits of the areas where Armenian is spoken in the west, and prince of eleven thousand men.

But let us turn back and tell about the war of Vagharshak with Pontus and with Phrygia, and about his victory.

4.

How Vagharshak united the Armenian braves into an organized military and advanced against the allies of the Macedonians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 4.

After [Persian king] Arshak's war with the Macedonians and his taking of Babylon and eastern and western Assyria, Vagharshak gathered together a great army from Atrpatakan and Armenia, from the middle [parts] of the land, men renowned and brave, including the aforementioned Bagarat, and the braves under him [g105], the young men of the lake shore who descended from Gegham and the Canaanites, the offspring of Sharay and Gushar, and the neighboring [descendants] of Sisak and Cadmos and their relations—almost half of our land. He advanced to the center of the land, above the sources of Metsamo'r on the bank of the Araxes near the hill called Armawir. There he stayed many days, it must be admitted, for they did not know any kind of [military] order.

From there, having united [the troops] from all parts of the land, he advanced to the borders of Xaghtik'. This was because [some areas, such as] Lazica, Pontus, Phrygia, Mazhak' [Caesarea], and others—not having heard the news about Arshak's war—stubbornly held to the treaties they had with the government of the Macedonians. For this [resistance], a certain Morp'iwghik united these aforementioned areas and incited warfare against Vagharshak. They encountered one another near a high hill with a rocky summit, which is today called Coloneia. Approaching to within a few stadia of each other, both sides fortified their positions for many days [g106].

5.

The battle of Morp'iwghik and his death from the blow of a spear.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 5.

After many days had passed, with both sides fortifying [their positions], the battle started, initiated by our side. As a result, willingly or unwillingly, Morp'iwghik put his own side's battle line in order and made a fierce attack. For he was a fearless man, with large and proportionate limbs, and having incredible physical strength. Protected by bronze and iron [armor] and surrounded by a small but select detachment of warriors, [Morp'iwghik] threw to the ground the select and valiant of Vagharshak's young men. He attempted to cut through to the king of the Armenians, there in the midst of his large and strongly armed host. He came close and succeeded in throwing his javelin; for he was powerful and a long hurler, and he cast his javelins a great distance like swift-winged birds. But the brave and renowned [combattants] from the line of Hayk and Senek'erim the Assyrian did not long delay to block his way. Striking him with their spears they slew the brave and, attacking his army, they put it to flight. Many streams of blood flowed, irrigating the ground like floods of rain. Thereafter the country was at peace, under the control of Vagharshak, and the Macedonians' provocations ended [g107].

6.

How Vagharshak organized the west and north of our land.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 6.

Having so acted, [Vagharshak] now put in order the areas of Mazhak', Pontus, and Egeria. He turned northward to the foot of the Parkhar [Mountains] in Tayk' to the wet and foggy regions of forests and moss, making [the area] more attractive. He levelled mountains and [emended] the hot climate, turning [the area] into the charming and also suitable delight of his kingdom. Here he created a cool abode for the summer, when he would go north. He designated as hunting areas two flat and densely forested areas with their mountains. The Kogh area, with its warm [climate] he transformed into parks with vineyards and gardens. Here I have refrained from describing this beloved man in all the details and completeness [of the stories], limiting myself only to the precise indications of places, and omitting rhetorical embellishments to preserve the bonds of my admiration for this wonderful man.

Here [Vagharshak] summoned the savage foreign people which [was dwelling] in the northern plain by the foot of the great Caucasus Mountain as well as in the valleys or long

deep gorges stretching from the mountain on the south to the vast mouth of the plain. He ordered them to stand clear of robbery and [g108] assassinations and to become subject to royal commands and taxes, so that when he saw them next time he might appoint leaders and princes with proper order. Then he dismissed them, [providing them] with wisemen and overseers of his own. After that, [Vagharshak] dismissed the Western host [of his army] and descended to the grassy places near the border of Sharay—an area which the ancients called "Wood-less" and Upper Basean, but which subsequently was called Vanand because of the colony of the Bulgar Vghe"ndur Vund, which dwelled in the area. And the names of the villages are called after his brothers and descendants to the present.

When it grew colder in the north and bitter winds blew, [Vagharshak] descended to a large plain and there set up camp on the banks of the Metsamo'r [Great Swamp], in the place where a large river [the Araxes], originating in the northern lake, merges with Metsamo'r. And having arranged the army of the land there and leaving his own overseers there, he himself, accompanied by all the chiefs, went to Nisibis.

7.

About the kingdom he created, how he arranged the lordships, and how and in what manner he ordered the way of life.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 7.

This is an important chapter, full of reliable history. It deserves a polished and detailed presentation. There is much said here about the ordering and organization of the Houses, clans, cities, villages, estates and, in general, the entire regulation of the kingdom and what relates to the kingdom—the army, military chiefs, lieutenants of the different areas, and similar matters [g109].

First and foremost, the king put in order his own person and his House, beginning with himself and the crown. He rewarded the aforementioned Bagarat, who was of the Jews, for his previously rendered services to the king and his loyalty and bravery by granting to his clan the aforementioned rank of prince. [Vagharshak] also gave him the authority to place the crown on the king's head, to be called coronant and also *aspet*, and to wear a hair ornament having three rows of pearls without gold or precious stones when he was in attendance at court and in the king's house.

As his dresser, [Vagharshak] appointed Dzer'e's, from the descendants of the Canaanites and called their clan Gnt'uni, though I do not know the reason. His armed body-guard [he appointed] from the descendants of Xor' Haykazn, [chosing] select and valiant men, lancers and swordsmen. As head of their clan [(the Xor'xor'uni), he designated] a certain

Maghxaz, a good and courageous man, though he kept the original name of the family. [Vagharshak placed] Dat, from the line of Gar'nik, descendant of Gegham, over the royal hunt. His son was Varzh, from whom the family received its name—but this was later, in the time of Artashe's. Over the granaries [he appointed] a certain Gabagh, and [appointed] Abe'l as steward and arranger of seating. And as gifts, he gave them [some] localities which are called after their names. Similarly these lordships are called Abegheank' and Gabegheank' [g110].

Furthermore, I consider the [derivation of the clan name] Artsruni not as [from] Artsruni but from "having an eagle" *(artsui uni)*, since they carried the eagle [as a standard] before themselves. I will pass over the foolish fables which are told in Hadamakert about how the rain and sun were bothering a sleeping boy, and how the shadow of a bird [protected] the sleepy youth. I know that the Gnuni [name means] "having wine" *(gini-uni)*—they prepared drink worthy of the king. There is a wonderful [fortuitous association] between their role and their name, since he who prepared the royal drink from select and delicious wines was [also] named Gin, and they say that Vagharshak was delighted by this [coincidence] and set him among the number of the lordly clans. And these two Houses, the Artsrunik' and the Gnunik', are descended from Senek'erim [king of Assyria].

I will also state that the [clan of the] Spandunik' [were appointed over] animals for sacrifice; the Hawunik' were [set as] falconers and keepers of falcons because they lived in the forest. And if you will not regard me as a chatterbox, the Dziwnakan [clan became] guardians of the summer residences and suppliers of snow and by advancement as royal servants, they were transferred to the *azat* ("gentry") estate.

[Vagharshak] established four brigades and guards for the royal court, each with 10,000 armed men from the same ancient line of kings which descended from our ancestor Hayk. [These are the folk] known as the genuine (*bun*) *ostan*, who [g111] from time to time received villages and estates as inheritance from their fathers. I have heard that subsequently, under the Persian monarchy, other brigades were drawn up and called *ostan*. I do not know if this was because the former clan had died out or if, because of some dispute, they were expelled and other brigades were appointed in their place with the royal name. But the first [group called *ostan*] surely descended from the first kings, just as now in Iberia/Georgia those called *se'p'e'tsul* do. [Vagharshak] ordered that eunuchs should be taken from the same clan and he [designated] as the patriarch (*nahapet*) of the clan Hayr, prince of the area from Atrpatakan as far as Chuash and Naxchawan. He enhanced the headship of his clan. However, how and where his deeds [took place], which have not been remembered, I do not know.

The second in the kingdom was descended from the line of Azhdahak, king of the Medes.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 8.

After the king's House had been set in order, the second [rank] of the kingdom was given to a descendant of Azhdahak [also] being the king of the Medes—now called Muratsean. The patriarchs of this clan are not called Lord of the Muratsean but Lord of the Marats'ik' [Medes]. And he left him [control] over all the localities inhabited by the captives from Media. In the eastern areas, on the border of the [regions where] Armenian [g112] is spoken, he established as lieutenants of ten thousand [men apiece], two [princes] from the Houses of patriarchal clans: [descendants] of Sisakan, and [descendants] of Cadmus, whose names we set down in one of the previous chapters.

After this he established—in the governorship of the great, renowned, and fertile northeastern area—Ar'an, a man renowned and outstanding in every deed of wisdom and cleaverness. [This area, Aghuania] is near the great river called Kur, which cuts through the extensive plain. But know that in the first book we forgot to mention this great and renowned clan, the brigade which descended from Sisak, who inherited the plain of Aghuania and the mountainous region of the same plain from the Araxes River as far as the fortress called Hnarakert. And that country was called Aghuank' after the mildness of its nature; for they called it *aghu* ["sweet"]. Among his descendants was the renowned and valiant Ar'an whom the Parthian Vagharshak made lieutenant commanding 10,000 troops. From his offspring, they say, descend the families of the Ute'ats'ik', Gardmanats'ik', Tsowdeats'ik' and Gargarats'ik' principalities.

As for Gushar, who descended from the sons of Sharay, he inherited the mountain Mt'in, that is, Kangark', and half of Jawakh, Koghb, Tsob, and Dzor, as far as the fortress of Hnarakert. But the lordship (*te'rut'iwn*) of Ashots' and the special appanage (*se'phakanut'iwn*) of Tashir, Vagharshak assigned to the descendants of Gushar Haykazn [g113]. Opposite the Caucasus Mountain as lieutenant of the North he appointed the [patriarch of the] great and powerful clan [of the Gugarats'ik'] and called the head of their patriarchy the *bdeashkh* of the Gugarats'ik'. They descend from Mihrdat, the *naxarar* (lord) of Darius. Alexander [of Macedon] brought and left him as prince over the captives from among the Iverian [Hispanic] peoples that Nebuchadnezzar had brought. Abydenus narrates [the account] in these terms: "The powerful Nebuchadnezzar, who was mightier than Heracles, gathering an army, came and attacked the land of the Libyans and Ivers [Spaniards]. Breaking their resistance he subdued them. And part of them he led away and settled on the right-hand side of the Pontus sea." Iveria is at the edge of the world in the West. In the great valley of Basean he established the patriarchate named Orduni; They are descended from Hayk.

[Vagharshak] appointed a man named Turk' as lieutenant of the West. [Turk'] was gruff-looking, tall, churlish, with a flattened nose, and a fierce gaze from deeply-sunken eyes.

He was a descendant of Pask'am, Hayk's grandson, and they called him Anggh ("unattractive," "not beautiful") because of his great ugliness. [Turk'] was a man of gigantic size and strength. Because of the unsightliness of his face, [Vagharshak] called his clan the House of Anggh. But if you will, even I am telling inappropriate and implausibile tales about him, just as the Persians say that Rostom Sagdjik had the strength of 120 elephants [g114]. The songs about [Turk's] strength and fearlessness seem quite inappropriate, since not even the tales of Samson or Heracles or Sagdjik could match them. They sang that he took in his hand granite boulders in which there were no cracks, and he would crush them into large and small pieces as he chose, polish them with his nails, and form them into tablet shapes, and also with his nails carve eagles and other such [designs] on them. When enemy ships would approach the shore of the Pontus Sea, he rushed upon them; and after they had withdrawn to a distance of about eight stadia and he could not reach them, they say that he took rocks the size of hills and hurled them at them. And not a few ships sank because of the splash, while the rise of the waves caused by the splash propelled the remaining ships many miles. O, this tale really is too much—it is the tale of all tales! But does this matter to you? For truly he was extremely powerful and worthy of such stories.

After this, [Vagharshak] established the great lordship (*naxararut'iwn*) of Tsop'k' in what is called Fourth Armenia. Similarly [he established] the lordships of the Apahunik' [g115], Manawazeans, and Bznunik' [descended] from the same sons of Hayk. He selected the most illustrious of the inhabitants and established them as lords, naming them after [their] localities and districts.

But we have also forgotten the terrible man named Slak' about whom I am unable to say for sure whether he descended from Hayk or from those who were in this country before him, of whose existence the ancient traditions tell. But he was a brave man. [Vagharshak] appointed [Slak'] with a few men to guard the mountain [located there] and to hunt the wild goats. These [guards] were called the Slkunik'. To the same work [he appointed] the relentless Miandak, from whom [are descended] the Mandakunik'.

Among the offspring of Vahagn were found some men who, of their own will, asked for the [position of] protecting the temples. He greatly exalted them, entrusting the priesthood to them. He also designated them among the foremost lordships, giving them the name of Vahuni. Similarly, he chose the Ar'aweneank' and the Zarehawaneank' [clans] from among the descendants of the first kings and established them in hamlets having the same names.

Sharashan, from the House of Sanasar, he appointed as great *bdeashkh* and governor of the southwest, on the borders of Assyria on the bank of the Tigris River, granting him as districts Ardzn and the areas surrounding it, and the Taurus Mountain, which is Sim, and all the Kleisurae.

[Vagharshak], having found a man, a Mokats'i, from the district of the same name [Mokk'], who commanded many brigands, established him [as head of] that lordship. He did the same for the Korduats'ik' [g116], the Andzewats'ik', and the Akeats'ik' from the districts of the same name. But as for the R'shtunik' and the Goght'nets'ik', I have found it said that they are truly branches of the Sisakan [clan]. I do not know whether the areas are named after the names of [these] men, or whether the men came to be known after the names of the districts [they ruled over].

After all this, he built a temple in Armawir and erected in it statues to the sun and the moon and to his own ancestors. He begged and earnestly pressed Shambat Bagarat—who was of the Jews and who was the coronant and *aspet*—to abandon the Jewish faith and to worship idols. But he refused, and King Vagharshak let him follow his own will.

He also ordered [Van] the city of Semiramis to be restored, and populous cities to be built in many other places, and in the principal localities and densely populated places.

[Vagharshak] established a certain order in the House of his kingship. He designated the hours for the coming and going [of court], for councils, feasts, and amusements. He established ranks for the military, distinguishing first, second, third, and further in order. He appointed two secretaries, one to record the good [things], the other the bad [things] for which retribution was to be meted out. He gave an order to the recorder of good deeds that, when the king was angry and might make unjust commands, [the secretary] should remind him of what was just and compassionate. He appointed judges in the royal House and judges in the cities and hamlets. He ordered that the townspeople be more highly esteemed and honored than the peasants and that [g117] the peasants should respect the townspeople like princes. However, the townspeople were not to vaunt themselves too much over the peasants but to live on brotherly terms for the sake of harmony and life without rancor. These [principles] are the cause of prosperity and peace and similar [blessings].

Since Vagharshak had many sons, he considered it appropriate that not all of them should reside with him in Nisibis. Therefore, he sent them to dwell in the district of Hashteank', and in the valley bordering it, which is outside Taro'n. He left them all the localities [there] together with a separate additional income, and stipends designated by the court. Now [Vagharshak] kept with him only his first son, called Arshak, for [affairs of] the kingdom. [He also kept] Arshak's son, whom he named Artashe's and really loved greatly, since [Arshak] was indeed a lively boy, [and] strong of body, so that people seeing him would feel that great deeds of bravery might come from him. From then on and in the future it became the rule among the Arshakunik' that one son should reside with the king as heir to the throne, while the other sons and daughters should go the Hashteank' areas, to the clan's hereditary possessions there.

Vagharshak, after such deeds of bravery and such reforms, died in Nisibis after reigning for twenty-two years.

9.

Regarding our Arshak the First and his deeds.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 9.

Arshak, Vagharshak's son, ruled as king over the Armenians for thirteen years. A zealous follower of his father's virtuous ways, [Arshak also] instituted many reforms. Fighting against the Pontics [g118], he left his mark by the shore of the great sea. For it is said that [Arshak], standing there, had hurled a spear with a conical tip which had been hardened in the blood of reptiles and that [the spear] went deeply into a column of mill-stone which he had set up on the shore. For a long time, the Pontics revered this column as the creation of the gods. When Artashe's attacked the Pontics a second time, the pillar is said to have been thrown into the sea.

In [Arshak's] day, there was great commotion in the chain of the great Caucasus Mountains in the land of the Bulgars. Many separated from them and came to our land and dwelled for a long time below Kogh, on fertile rich corn-producing lands.

[Arshak] harassed the sons of Bagarat about worshipping idols. Two of them died valiantly by the sword for their patrimonial faith. I am not abashed to call them followers of the companions of Anania and Eleazar. But the others [of Bagrat's descendants] agreed to this much only: to ride out to hunt and to battle on the Sabbath, and to leave their children uncircumcised when they would be born—for they were unmarried. And it was commanded by Arshak that they should not be given wives from any of the princely houses unless they made an oath to abandon circumcision. They accepted only these two conditions, but not the worship of idols.

With this, the account of the old man Mar Abas Catina ends [g119].

10.

After the writings of Mar Abas Catina, where information derives from for this history.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 10.

Let us begin to narrate [history] to you from the fifth book of the chronicler, [Sextus Julius] Africanus, [information] which is confirmed by Josephus and Hippolytus and many other Greeks. For he transcribed everything relating to our kings from the scrolls of the archive of Edessa, that is, Urha—books which had been transported there from Nisibis and from the temple histories of Sinope in Pontus. Let no one doubt this, for we have seen that archive with our own eyes. There is also testimony in the *Ecclesiastical [History]* of Eusebius of Caesarea—[a manuscript of which] you may find closer to you in Geghark'unik', in the district of Siwnik'—in the 13th chapter of Book One. This work was given to be translated into Armenian by our blessed *vardapet* Mashtots'. [That passage attests to] the [existence of the] Edessene archive, which contains accounts of [ancient times including] all the deeds of our first kings down to Abgar and from Abgar down to Eruand. I believe that these are preserved until today in the same city.

11.

Concerning our Artashe's the First and how he seized primacy [of rule].

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 11.

Artashe's succeeded his father, Arshak, as king of the Armenians in the 24th year of Arshakan, king of the Persians. Going forward, he did not [want to] hold the second rank [in the Persian kingdom] but coveted the supreme position. Trusting in [Artashe's], Arshakan agreed to give primacy to him. For [Artashe's] was a proud and warlike man; he established his royal court in the land of the Persians and began to mint his own coins bearing his image. He established Arshakan under his own authority as king of the Persians, and likewise Tigran his own son [as king] of Armenia.

[Artashe's] gave his son Tigran for instruction to a youth named Varazh, son of Dat, one of the sons of Gar'nik, a descendant of Gegham, for he was a youth famous for his prowess in archery. He made him superintendent of the royal hunt and granted him localities by the Hrazdan River. The clan of the Varazhnunik' takes its name from him. [Artashe's] gave his daughter Artasham in marriage to a certain Mithridates, great *bdeashkh* of the Iberians/Georgians. He was the descendant of [another] Mithridates, satrap of [Persian king] Darius, whom Alexander had set over the prisoners from the land of Iberia [Spain], as we narrated earlier. And [Artashe's] entrusted [Mithridates] with the governorship of the northern mountains and the Pontic Sea [g121].

12.

How Artashe's advanced to the West, arrested Croesus, and took his statues of idols as booty to the Armenians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 12.

Then Artashe's gave the order that a large army should be raised from the east and north, [which] was so large that he did not know its size. [To count the soldiers, Artashe's ordered that] on the roads and resting places each man should leave a stone to form a mound as an indication of their multitude. Thereafter he went west and captured Croesus, king of the Lydians.

Finding in [the western district named] Asia images of Artemis, Heracles, and Apollo, which had been cast in bronze and gilded, [Artashe's] had them brought to our land to be erected in Armawir. The chief priests, who were from the Vahunik' clan, took the statues of Apollo and Artemis and set them up in Armawir. However, as for the statue of Heracles —which had been made by Scyllas and Dipenes of Crete—[the Vahunik' priests] supposed it to be their ancestor, Vahagn, and for that reason they erected it in Tarawn, in their own hereditary *(sephakan)* village of Ashtishat, after the death of Artashe's [g122].

But Artashe's, having conquered the land between the two seas, filled the Ocean with the multitude of his ships, wanting to subjugate the entire West. No one strongly resisted him since, at the time, great disturbances were occurring in Rome. But—I cannot say from what cause—an awful turmoil arose [during which disturbance] innumerable troops destroyed one another. Now as for Artashe's, he fled and was killed, as they say, by his own army. He had reigned for 25 years.

[During his campaign, Artashe's] also had taken from Hellas images of Zeus, Artemis, Athena, Hephaistos, and Aphrodite, and had them brought to Armenia. But before they had arrived in our land the sad news of the death of Artashe's was heard. [Those bringing the statues] fled leaving the images at the fortress of Ani [Ani Kamakh]. The pagan priests who had accompanied [the bearers], stayed there with [the images].

13.

Testimonies from other historians about the empire of Artashe's and his taking Croesus prisoner.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 13.

Greek historians—not one or two but many of them—also speak of these [events]. Being doubtful about these same events, we made many investigations because we had heard

from some histories that [it was] Cyrus [not Artashe's] who had killed Croesus and had destroyed the Lydian kingdom. Also related [by some historians] is the rivalry [g123] of Croesus and Nectanebo. According to Manetho, this same Nectanebo is said to have been the last king of Egypt, while others have called him the father of Alexander. But we have found the period of Croesus to be two hundred years before that of Nectanebo, while Nectanebo's period is more than another two hundred years before that of Artashe's the First, king of the Armenians.

However, there are many who say that it was our Artashe's who captured Croesus and narrate this convincingly, and I agree with them. Polycrates puts it this way: "To me, Artashe's the Parthian is superior to Alexander the Macedonian, because while remaining in his own land he [was able] to rule over Thebes and Babylon; and without crossing the Halys River he destroyed the Lydian army and captured Croesus. Furthermore, [even] before arriving in Asia he was declared [the victor] in the fortress of Attica. Alas for his fate! If only he had died [ruling] in his lordship and not in flight!"

Evagaros, [who] is in agreement with him, says: "The war of Alexander and Darius is minor compared to that [fought by] Artashe's. For in the first case, the light of day was obscured by the dust, but the latter [Artashe's himself] hid and darkened the sun by his volleys of arrows, turning mid-day into an artificial night. [Artashe's] did not allow the Lydians to flee and bring the news, but even their king [g124], Croesus, he ordered to be placed in a cauldron. Because of him the streams did not fill up the river [they debouched into], since due to [the water] being consumed [by his soldiers] it lowered down to its winter level. Due to the multitude of his army, he rendered the use of numbers inadequate so that there was need for measurement rather than counting. At this [Artashe's] was not boastful, but wept, saying: 'Alas for my transitory glory.' "

Scamandros also wrote [about Artashe's] as follows: "The prideful Croesus, king of the Lydians, was fooled by the response of the Pythian oracle [which said]: 'Croesus, after crossing the Halys River, will destroy principalities.' [Croesus,] thinking that this referred to others, ended up destroying himself. For Artashe's the Parthian seized [Croesus] and ordered that he be thrown into an iron cauldron. Croesus, recalling the words of Solon of Athens, began to speak in his own language: "O Solon, Solon! Wisely you said that a person should not be adjudged happy until his death." Those who were nearby heard this and told Artashe's that Croesus was invoking some new deity. Artashe's had mercy and ordered them to bring and interrogate him. When [Artashe's] learned what [Croesus] had cried out, he ordered that he be spared torments.

[On the same topic], Phlegonius wrote: "The most powerful of all kings was [g125] the Parthian Artashe's. Not only did he put the Lydians to flight and capture Chroesus, but in the Hellespont and in Thrace he changed the nature of the elements. Travelling over land, he was taken along as if sailing on the sea; while [when travelling] over the sea, he marched as if on foot. He threatened the Thessalians and his renown astounded the

Hellenes. [Artashe's] destroyed the Lacedemonians, and put the Phocians to flight. The Locrians surrendered, the Bithynians were [made] a part of his forces; all Hellas feared him. And yet, a short time later his disasters surpassed everyone's. [Compared with other kings in flight], Cyrus was not so unfortunate [when he fled after] warring against the Massagetae (Mask'ut'). Darius, fleeing from the Scythians, did not suffer so many misfortunes, nor did Cambyses [fleeing] from the Ethiopians. Less [devastating] was [the fate of] Xerxes, who went against Hellas with an army [but was defeated] and escaped alive by a hairsbreadth, leaving them his treasures and tents. But he [Artashe's], prideful because of his very great victories, was killed by his own army."

Now I regard these accounts as trustworthy. As for that Croesus, who is [said to have lived in] the time of Cyrus or Nectanebo, either he is a fictitious person, or else many kings bore the same name, as is often the case [g126].

14.

About the reign of Tigran the Middle, his resistance to the Greek armies, his building of the temples, and his campaigns into Palestine.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 14.

After Artashe's the First, there ruled his son Tigran, in the 49th year of Arshakan, king of the Persians. Gathering up the Armenian forces, he went against the troops of the Greeks, which—after the death of his father, Artashe's, and the dispersal of his troops—had attacked and invaded our land. Tigran went against them, stopped them, and forced them to retreat. [Tigran] returned to our own land after entrusting to Mithridates, his sister's husband, Mazhak [Caesarea] and the care of Asia Minor, and leaving a large army with him.

First, [Tigran] wanted to construct the temples. But the priests, who had come from Greece, and had decided that they did not want to be taken into the deepest parts of Armenia turned to sorcery, supposedly expressing the desire of the gods to reside right where they were. Tigran agreed to this. He erected the statue of Olympian Zeus in the fortress of Ani; of Athena in T'il; the other statue of Artemis in Erez, and that of Hephaistos in Bagayar'inj. But the statue of Aphrodite, as the beloved of Heracles, [Tigran] ordered [g127] to be erected next to the statue of the same Heracles in Ashtishat. Enraged at the Vahunik'—since they had dared to set up on their private lands the statue of Heracles sent by his father—he removed them from the priesthood and confiscated for the crown the village in which the statues had been erected.

And thus, having built temples and erected altars before them, he ordered all the lords to offer sacrifices and worship. The men of the Bagratuni clan did not agree to this, and [Tigran] cut off the tongue of one of them, named Asud, for disrespecting the images. However, he did not torment [them] in any other way, for they agreed to eat from the king's sacrifices and also pork, although they themselves did not sacrifice or worship. Therefore he deprived them of the command of the army, though he did not remove from them the office of *aspet* with the right of crowning [the king]. [Tigran] himself descended into Mesopotamia and, finding there the statue of Barshamin, made of ivory, crystal, and silver, he ordered that it should be brought and set up in the hamlet of T'ordan.

Immediately after this, he attacked Palestine to demand vengeance from Cleopatra [daughter] of Ptolemy for the crimes of her son Dionysius committed against his own father. Taking many captives from among the Jews, [Tigran] besieged the city of Ptolemais. But the queen of the Jews, Alexandra—also known as Messalina—who had been the wife of [the late king] Alexander [Jannaeus, 103-76 B.C.], son of John, son of Simon the brother [g128] of Judas Maccabaeus, and who at that time ruled the kingdom of the Jews, turned [Tigran] back by giving him many gifts. In addition, it was being noised about that some robber, named Vaykun, having fortified himself on an impregnable mountain, was disturbing the country of the Armenians. This mountain is still called Vaykunik' after the name of the robber.

15.

The Roman general, Pompey, comes against us; the capture of Mazhak, and the death of Mithridates.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 15.

In that period the Roman general, Pompey, arrived in Asia Minor with a large army and sent the commander of his army *(sparapet)*, Scaurus, to Syria to wage war against Tigran. He arrived there but did not encounter Tigran, since the latter had returned to his own land—because of the alarm caused by the robber [Vaykun]. For that reason, Scaurus passed on to Damascus. Seeing that the city had [already] been taken by Metellus and Lullus, he drove them out. Then he hastened to Judaea against Aristobulus—to help his elder brother Hyrcanus, the chief priest, son of Alexander [g129].

Now Pompey, when battling with Mithridates, met with fierce resistance and frightful battles, and experienced great danger. Yet Mithridates, defeated by [Pompey's superior] numbers, fled to the Pontus areas. Pompey, now unexpectedly freed from him, captured Mazhak, seized his son Mithridates, and placed troops in the city. He himself did not pursue Mithridates but hastened through Syria to Judaea. [Pompey] had Mithridates

poisoned to death through the intermediary of Pontius Pilate's father. Josephus attests to this in the passage where he speaks about balsam, putting it this way: "The glad tidings of the death of Mithridates reached Pompey near Jericho."

16.

Regarding Tigran's attack on the Roman troops, how Gabianus evaded [him], and the release of the young Mithridates.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 16.

Tigran, king of the Armenians, settled the Jewish captives in Armawir and in the hamlet of Vardge's, which is on the river K'asagh. [Then, after he had] eliminated the robbers from the [Vaykunik'] mountain, and mourned the death of Mithridates [g130], he marched to Syria against the Roman troops to seek vengeance. Gabianus, the commander-in-chief of the Roman troops, whom Pompey had left behind when he returned to Rome, came against him. But Gabianus did not dare to oppose Tigran and returned from the Euphrates to Egypt, claiming Ptolemy as an excuse. He made a secret accord with Tigran and gave up to him his sister's son, the young Mithridates, son of Mithridates, whom Pompey had captured in Mazhak, though [Gabianus] said that [Mithridates] had escaped.

17.

The war of Crassus, and how he perished at Tigran's hands.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 17.

The Romans, having become suspicious of Gabianus, replaced him with Crassus whom they sent out [to the East]. [Crassus] came, took all the treasures found in the Temple of God in Jerusalem, and then advanced against Tigran. Having crossed the Euphrates, he and all his troops perished fighting against Tigran. Gathering up the treasure, Tigran returned to Armenia [g131].

18.

How Cassius resisted Tigran, the revolt of Mithridates, and the building of Caesarea.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 18.

The angered Romans sent Cassius, with countless troops. [Cassius] arrived and resisted [Tigran], not allowing the Armenian troops to cross the Euphrates and raid Assyria.

Around this time Tigran—having became suspicious of the young Mithridates, and no longer regarding him as his nephew—did not give him any share in his rule or even his own land in Iberia/Georgia. Mithridates, having endured such humiliation from his uncle Tigran, rebelled and went over to Caesar. [Mithridates] received from [Caesar] as a principality the city of Perge, and on Caesar's orders was a useful ally to Antipater, Herod's father. He built up Mazhak to be a larger [city] with beautiful constructions and named it Caesarea in honor of Caesar. From then on Armenian rule over the city ceased.

19.

About the alliance of Tigran and Artashe's, the raid into Palestine, the capture of Hyrcanus the high priest and many other Jews.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 19.

Now after all this, Tigran fell ill and sought friendship with the king of the Persians, Artashe's. It was due to his father's pride that they [the Persians] had been deprived of primacy [of rule in Armenia]. Now he [Tigran] willingly returned to the second rank [g132], as was lawful, restoring primacy to [Artashe's]. Thus, becoming reconciled with Artashe's, [Tigran] received an army for his support from him. Then Tigran took Barzap'ran, the patriarch (*nahapet*) of the R'shtunik' lordship *(naxararut'iwn)*, and appointed him commander-in-chief of the Armenian and Persian troops. He sent him against the Roman troops with orders to discuss peace with the residents of the land of the Assyrians and Palestinians, and bring them to an agreement. Then there came before him a certain Pacorus, whose father had been king of the Assyrians, while he himself was a relative of Antigonus from Aristobulos' family. He came to Barzap'ran, patriarch of the R'shtunik' and commander-in-chief of the Armenians and Persians, and promised him five hundred beautiful women and a thousand talents of gold if he would help them depose Hyrcanus from the kingship of the Jews and make Antigonus king.

When Hyrcanus, high priest and king of the Jews, and P'asayelos, Herod's brother, saw that Barzap'ran had put the Roman troops to flight, [chasing] some into the sea and others into cities, they themselves made proposals of peace to Barzap'ran. The latter sent a certain Gnel—who was the cup bearer of the king of the Armenians and from the Gnuni clan—to Jerusalem with cavalry, supposedly seeking peace, but secretly to help Antigonus. In Jerusalem, Hyrcanus did not receive the cup bearer with all his forces but only with five hundred cavalry. And the cup bearer treacherously advised Hyrcanus to go to Barzap'ran to discuss the ruin [g133] of the land. He himself promised to act as

intercessor. When Hyrcanus sought an oath from Barzap'ran, he swore to him by the sun and moon and all their cults in heaven and earth and by the sun of Artashe's and Tigran. Assured by this, Hyrcanus left Herod [ruling] over Jerusalem. He went to Barzap'ran to the village called Ek'tipon, [located] at the shore, taking with him P'asayelos, Herod's elder brother.

Barzap'ran deceitfully honored them. However, he himself suddenly quit the place, ordering the soldiers remaining there to seize them and hand them over to Antigonus. Then Antigonus fell on Hyrcanus and, with his teeth, bit off his ears so that should circumstances change, it would be impossible for him to hold the chief priesthood, since the laws command that [only] those whole of limb may be appointed priests. And P'asayel, Herod's brother, of his own accord struck his head against a stone. A doctor was sent by Antigonus as if to heal him, but he filled his wound with poisonous drugs and killed him.

Barzap'ran ordered Gnel, cup bearer to the king of the Armenians, to seek Herod in Jerusalem. Gnel tried to deceive Herod into emerging from behind the wall, but Herod did not agree to this. However, [Herod] was no longer able to remain in the city because he feared the faction of Antigonus' supporters [g134]. By night he secretly fled with his family to the Idumaeans. [There], he left his family in the fortress of Masada and himself hastened to Rome. But the troops of the Armenians, with the help of the supporters of Antigonus, entered Jerusalem without harming anyone. They merely took Hyrcanus' possessions, worth more than three hundred talents. And then they raided the district, plundered the supporters of Hyrcanus, captured the city of Marisa, and enthroned Antigonus as king. They led Hyrcanus in bonds to Tigran. along with the captives. Tigran ordered Barzap'ran to settle the captive Jews from Marisa in the city of Semiramis [Van]. Tigran did not live more than three years after this before he died, having reigned for 33 years.

20.

Another war of the Armenians against the forces of the Romans, and the defeat of Silon and Bendidius.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 20.

Herod, having gone to Rome, spoke of his loyalty to the Romans in the presence of Antony, Caesar, and the Senate. Antony made him king of Judaea. As military aid, he received the commander-in-chief, Bendidius, with a force of Romans. They were [g135] to fight against the troops of the Armenians and destroy Antigonus. When he reached Syria, he put to flight the troops of the Armenians. Leaving Silon to oppose the

Armenians near the Euphrates, he killed Pacorus and returned to Jerusalem against Antigonus. But the Armenians, having again obtained help from the Persians, attacked Silon and made him flee back to Bendidius, shedding vast torrents of blood.

21.

How Antony himself went against the troops of the Armenians and took Samosata.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 21.

Antony, angered, arrived in person with all the Roman troops. When he reached Samosata he heard about Tigran's death. Then he took the city and, leaving Sosius to help Herod in the attack on Antigonus for Jerusalem, he himself went to pass the winter in Egypt. He hurried to get there with the desperation of a womanizer [since he was] lusting for Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt. This Cleopatra—the daughter of Ptolemy Dionysius, who was the grandson of Ptolemy Cleopater—was very loved by Herod. For that reason, especially, Antony had entrusted Herod to Sosius. [Sosius], after fighting bravely, took Jerusalem, killed Antigonus, and made Herod king over all Judaea and Galilee [g136].

22.

Concerning the reign of Artawazd and the war with the Romans.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 22.

Artawazd, son of Tigran, reigned over the Armenians. He gave as inheritance to his brothers and sisters the districts of Aghiovit and Ar'beran, leaving them a portion of the royal lands in the localities of those districts, with their separate incomes and stipends—according to the example of his clanmates in the areas of Hashteank'. [This was done] so that they would be more honored and have a higher position within the royal family than these other Arsacids. He only stipulated that they could not live in Ayrarat, the royal residence.

But [Artawazd] displayed no other [noteworthy] deed of valor or bravery and spent his time eating and drinking. He roamed around in the marshes, in reedy and rocky places, looking after wild asses and swine [to hunt]. Having no concern for wisdom, bravery, or a good reputation, [Artawazd] truly was a servant and slave to his stomach, and only increased impurities. He became furious—after being blamed by his own troops for his excessive idleness and extreme gluttony, and especially because Antony had removed him from Mesopotamia—and commanded that tens of thousands of troops be assembled from

the state *(nahang)* of Atrpatakan, [and] from the inhabitants of the Caucasus Mountain along with the Aghuans and Iberians/Georgians. Then he descended into Mesopotamia and expelled the Roman forces [g137].

23.

How Antony arrested Artawazd.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 23.

Roaring like a wild lion, Antony was especially angered by Cleopatra because she held a grudge for the ill treatment inflicted on her grandmother by Tigran. She posed a mortal danger not only for the Armenian [king], but also for many other kings, as she tried to rule over their dominions. Antony, for this purpose having killed many kings, handed over their kingdoms to Cleopatra—with the exception of Tyre and Sidon and those that are located near the Azat [Eleutheros] River. Taking the mass of his army, he went against Artawazd. Passing through Mesopotamia, he killed an uncountable number of Armenian troops and captured their king. On returning to Egypt, [Antony] gave Artawazd, Tigran's son, as a gift to Cleopatra with much riches from the war booty.

24.

Concerning the reign of Arsham, the first submission of part of Armenia to Roman tribute, the freeing of Hyrcanus, and the danger to the Bagratid clan because of him.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 24.

In the 20th year of Arshe'z, when the days of his reign were approaching their end, the troops of the Armenians assembled and, at his order, proclaimed as king [g138] over themselves Arjam, who is [also] Arsham. He was the son of Artashe's, brother of Tigran, and father of Abgar. Some among the Assyrians call him Manov—according to the custom of many to have a double name, such as Herod Agrippa, or Titus Antony or Titus Justus. However [at the time] there was no one to help Arsham resist the Romans, since in that same year Arshe'z had died, leaving the kingdom of the Persians to his son Arshawir, who was a very small boy. [Consequently, Arsham] spoke with them about a peace treaty, giving tribute from Mesopotamia and the regions of Caesarea through Herod. This was the beginning for Armenia becoming partially tributary to the Romans.

In this period Arsham became enraged at a certain Enanos, who was an *aspet* and coronant. [This was] because [Enanos] had freed Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews

whom Barzap'ran R'shtuni had captured in the days of Tigran. But Enanos excused himself to the king, saying that he [Hyrcanus] had promised a ransom of a hundred talents; and since [Enanos] expected to receive this from him, he undertook to give it [to Arsham]. Therefore Arsham fixed a set a [fixed] term for him [to produce the money]. [Enanos] sent one of his brothers, whose name was Senek'ia, to Judaea to Hyrcanus so that the latter might give him the money for his ransom [g139]. When Enanos' messenger arrived he found that Herod had put Hyrcanus to death to prevent any plot against his kingdom. Now when the appointed time arrived and Enanos did not pay the money for Hyrcanus' ransom, Arsham became angry with him. Depriving him of his rank, he ordered him to be put into prison.

At that time Zo'ra, patriarch of the clan of the Gnt'unik', slandered him before the king, saying: "Know, O king, that Enanos wanted to rebel against you, and he proposed to me that we should seek an oath from Herod, king of Judaea, that he would receive us and give us hereditary [possessions] in our own native country, because we experience constant ridicule in this land. And I did not agree to this, but said to him: 'Why do we deceive ourselves with ancient tales and old wives' fables, presenting ourselves as Palestinians?' [Enanos], losing hope in [help from] me, sent the high priest Hyrcanus [to Herod] for the same purpose, but he was even more disappointed by Herod. But, O king, he will not abandon his treacherous behavior unless you stop him." King Arsham believed this slander and ordered that all kinds of torments should be inflicted on Enanos. The aim of this was either that he completely abandon the Jewish faith and worship the sun and revere the king's idols—in which case the king assured him that he would receive back his [g140] previous authority—or he would be hung on a tree and his clan would be exterminated. One of [Enanos'] relations, whose name was Saria, [King Arsham] put to death in front of him, and he brought along with him to the place of execution his sons, whose names were Sap'atia and Azaria. Fearing the death of his sons, and at the pleading of his wives, [Enanos] and all his clan fulfilled the king's wishes, and his former honor was confirmed. But the king, not fully trusting him, sent him to Armenia, entrusting the land to him if only to remove him from Mesopotamia.

25.

Arsham's quarrel with Herod, and the unwilling submission [of Arsham].

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 25.

After this, a conflict arose between Herod, king of Judaea, and our King Arsham. This was because Herod, after [performing] many valiant deeds, [now] devoted himself to deeds of benevolence, constructing many structures in many cities from Rome to Damascus. He asked Arsham for a multitude of unskilled workers to fill in the public

squares of Antioch in Syria, which were impassable and inaccessible because of the mud and mire. But Arsham did not agree to this and gathered his troops to oppose Herod. Through messengers he sent word to the emperor in Rome [g141] not to place him under Herod's authority. But the emperor not only did not free Arsham from Herod's authority but he also entrusted to the latter all of Asia Minor *(Mijerkreays)*.

Then Herod appointed as king of Asia Minor, under his supreme authority, the father-in-law of his son Alexander, who on his father's side descended from Timon, on his mother's side from the kingdom of the Medes, from the descendants of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. [Herod] also took into his service brigades from the Galatians and the Pontians. When Arsham saw this, he bowed before Herod as a sovereign master and provided him with the requested workers. He, having filled with their help the squares of Antioch at a distance of twenty stades, paved them with white marble paving stones, so that the torrents freely flowed along the pavement, without causing harm to the city. Arsham died, having reigned for 20 years.

26.

The reign of Abgar, Armenia becomes fully subject to Roman taxes, the war with Herod's troops and the murder of his brother's son, Joseph

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 26.

Arsham's son, Abgar, came to the throne in the 20th year of Arshawir, king of the Persians. This Abgar was called "the senior man *(awag ayr)*" because of his very great [g142] modesty and wisdom, and later also because of his age. Unable to pronounce *[awag ayr]* correctly, the Greeks and Assyrians called him "Abgaros." In the second year of his reign, all parts of Armenia had become fully subject to Roman taxes. For an order had been issued by Augustus Caesar so that, as it says in the Gospel of Luke, a census should be made throughout the entire world. To accomplish this, Roman officials also were sent to Armenia, bringing the image of Augustus Caesar, which they set up in every temple. In this period our Savior Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was born.

In those same days a quarrel arose between Abgar and Herod, since Herod commanded that his own image should be set up next to that of the emperor in the temples of Armenia. Abgar did not accept this and, as a result, Herod sought a pretext [for war] against him. [Herod] sent a force of Thracians and Germans to raid the country of the Persians ordering it to cross over Abgar's land. But Abgar did not submit to this and opposed them, saying that it had been the emperor's command that this force should cross into the country of the Persians via the desert. Herod became embittered by this, but he was unable to do anything in person since he had to endure all sorts of [physical] pain—

worms grew inside him because of his presumption against Christ, as Josephus relates [g143]. [Herod] sent his brother's son, Joseph, to whom he had given in marriage his sister, who previously was the wife of his brother, P'erur. He took a great army, marched to Mesopotamia, and encountered Abgar in the district of Bugnan which was a military camp. In the battle [P'erur] was killed and his army fled. Immediately afterwards Herod also died, and Augustus made his son, Archelaus, Ethnarch *(azgapet)* of the Jews.

27.

The building of the city of Edessa and a brief reference to the clan of our Illuminator.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 27.

Augustus died not many days later, and in his stead Tiberius ruled as king over the Romans. Germanicus, having become caesar, led in triumph the princes Arshawir and Abgar who had been sent to Rome because of their war in which they had killed Herod's nephew. Abgar became furious, thought to rebel, and prepared for war. It was then that he built a city on the site of the Armenian army's camp, where earlier they had protected the Euphrates from Cassius. This place was called Edessa, and [Abgar] transferred there his court, which had been at Nisibis, and all his idols, Nabog and Bel and Bat'nik'agh and T'arat'a, the books of the temple schools, and also the royal archives.

After this, Arshawir died and and Artashe's, his son, ruled over the Persians [g144]. Now even though [what follows] is not in the chronological order of our history or in the sequence of order that we have adopted for our account, despite this, because it was the descendants of King Arshawir and the family of his son, Artashe's, who were the cause of the conversion of our Armenian nation, for the sake of honoring these men we shall set them in this book next to Artashe's. In that way, those who read [this account] may understand that they are of the same clan as that valliant man. Subsequently we shall indicate the time of the arrival of their fathers in Armenia, that is, [the arrival in Armenia] of the Karen and Suren [clans] from whom are descended Saint Gregory and the Kamsarakank' [clan], when in the course of our narrative we reach the period of the king who received them.

However, Abgar did not succeed in his plans for a rebellion. This was because discord arose among his relations in the Persian kingdom. As a result, [Abgar] assembled troops and went there to convince them to stop [the disputes].

28.

Concerning Abgar's going to the East and enthroning Artashe's as king of the Persians, how he brought order to his brothers, from whom are descended our Illuminator and his kin.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 28.

Now Abgar went East and found Artashe's, son of Arshawir, ruling over the Persians, [but] opposed by his brothers. [The opposition was] because [Artashe's] thought to [hereditarily] rule over them with his own clan, and they did not accept this. Artashe's besieged them and put the fear of death [g145] into them which caused much dissension and disunity among the troops and the other relations. For King Arshawir had fathered three sons and a daughter: the first was this very king Artashe's, the second was Karen, and the third Suren. Their sister, who was called Koshm, was the wife of the general of all the Aryans who had been appointed by her father.

Abgar convinced them to make peace and established the following conditions on them all: Artashe's would reign [hereditarily] with his descendants, as he had intended. His brothers would be called Pahlav after the name of their [indigenous] city and great and fertile land [Balkh], so that they, as truly royal offspring, would be the most revered and have primacy among all the lordships of the Persians. [Abgar] also established pacts and oaths among them so that in the event of the termination of the line of Artashe's on the male side, they [his brothers] would ascend to the throne. Beyond [their membership in] his reigning clan, he designated them as three [distinct] clans with the following names: Karen Pahlaw, Suren Pahlaw, and their sister, Aspahapet Pahlaw, whose name derived from the [office of the] lordship *(te'rut'iwn)* of her husband [that is, commander-in-chief *(aspahapet/sparapet)* of the army].

They say that Saint Gregory was descended from [the line of] Suren Pahlaw and the Kamsarakans from Karen Pahlaw. We shall narrate the circumstances of their arrival [in Armenia] in its place and merely mention them now next to Artashe's, so that you may know that this great family is indeed [descended] from the blood of Vagharshak, that is, from the line of Arshak the Great, brother of Vagharshak.

Having made these arrangements and taking the text of the oath with him, Abgar returned. However, he was not physically well, but afflicted with a disease that caused terrible pains [g146].

Abgar's return from the East, and how he gave assistance to Aretas in the struggle against the Tetrarch Herod.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 29.

When Abgar returned from the East, he heard that the Romans had doubts about him, [suspecting] that he had gone to the East to seek troops. Therefore he wrote to the Roman officals [explaining] the reasons for his going to Persia. At the same time he sent to them the text of the convenant between Artashe's and his brothers. However, [the Romans] did not believe him, because enemies were slandering him—[namely] Pilate and the Tetrarch Herod and Lysanias and Philip. As a result, Abgar went to his city Edessa and joined forces with Aretas, king of Petra, to battle against Herod—giving [Aretas] support through a certain Xosran Artsruni. For Herod had first taken King Aretas' daughter to wife. Then, having dishonored and rejected her, he took to wife Herodias, while her husband was still alive. For this he was constantly condemned by John the Baptist, and therefore [Herod] put John the Baptist to death. And so there was warfare between him and Aretas over the disrespect shown to his daughter. In [this war] Herod's army was severely beaten and destroyed through the help of the Armenian braves—as though through divine providence—to avenge the death of John the Baptist.

30.

How Abgar sent princes to Marinus, on which occasion they saw our Savior Christ, which proved the beginning of Abgar's conversion.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 30.

At that time, the emperor designated Marinus, son of Storgius, to the work of the chiliarchate *(hazarapetut'iwn*) over Phoenicia and Palestine, Assyria, and Mesopotamia. Abgar sent to him in the city of Bet'-Kubin two of his senior people—Mar Ihab, the *bdeashkh* (borderlord) of Aghdznik', and Shamshagram, patriarch of the Apahunik' clan *(tohm),* and with them Anan, his confidant, to explain to him the reason for his going to the East, to show him the text of the agreement between Artashe's and his brothers, and to enlist his support. When [the envoys] arrived, they found him in Eleutheropolis. [Marinus] received them with joy and honor. He made this reply to Abgar: "Have no fear of the emperor about this matter, as long as you hasten to pay the tribute in full."

When [Abgar's envoys] were returning [to Edessa from Eleutheropolis], they went to Jerusalem to see our Savior Christ because of the news of His miracles. They saw Him in person and informed Abgar [about what they had seen]. Abgar was astonished at this and truly believed in Him as the Son of God, saying: "Those [miraculous] powers are not a

man's but God's. For there is no man who can raise the dead but only God." Now it happened that [Abgar's] body had become afflicted [g148] with very wicked pains, [an affliction] which he had contracted in Persia seven years earlier, and which no man had been able to cure. Therefore, [Abgar] had a letter of supplication taken to Him, asking Him to come and cure him of his pains. It had this content:

31.

The letter of Abgar to the Savior.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 31.

[From] Abgar [son] of Arsham, prince of the land, to Jesus, Savior and Benefactor, who has appeared in the land of the Jerusalemites, greetings.

I have heard about you and about the healing you do with your own hands, without drugs or roots [of plants]. It is related that you give sight to the blind and make the lame walk, that you cleanse lepers, cast out evil spirits, and heal those tormented by long illnesses, that you even resurrect the dead. And when I heard all this about you, I considered that one of these two [explanations] must apply: either you are God who has come down from the sky and so are able to work these [miraculous] things, or you are the son of God and therefore are able to do these things. Now, it is for this reason that I have written to you to ask you to take the trouble to come to me and heal this sickness which I have. Also, I have heard that the Jews murmur against you and want to torment you. I have a small and beautiful city, and it is sufficient for us both" [g149].

They took the letter and met Him in Jerusalem. To this bears witness the saying of the gospel: "There were some of the pagans who had come to him." Therefore those who heard what they [the pagans] had to say did not dare tell Jesus [directly] but they told Philip and Andrew, and they told Jesus. However, our Savior himself did not accept Abgar's invitation at that time but honored him with a letter, which had this content:

32.

The reply to Abgar's letter, which Thomas the apostle wrote at the command of the Savior.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 32.

"Blessed is he who believes in me without having seen me. For thus it is written concerning me: 'Those who see me will not believe in me, and those who do not see me

will believe and live.' Now regarding what you wrote to me, that I should come to you: I must fulfill everything that I was sent to do here. And when I have completed this, then I shall ascend to Him who sent me. When I have ascended I shall send one of my disciples to cure your pains and grant life to you and those with you."

Anan, Abgar's messenger, brought this letter with the Savior's living portrait, which has remained in the city of Edessa up to the present day [g150].

33.

The preaching of Apostle Thaddeus in Edessa and copies of five letters.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 33.

Now after the ascension of our Savior, Thomas, who was one of the twelve [apostles], sent Thaddeus, one of the seventy [disciples], to the city of Edessa to cure Abgar and to preach the gospel according to the word of the Lord. When he arrived he entered the house of Tobias, the prince of the Jews who, they say, was of the Bagratid clan. He had eluded Arsham [and fled to Judaea] and had not apostasized Judaism like his other kinfolk, but lived under that same faith until he came to believe in Christ. And news of [Thaddeus' arrival] spread throughout the entire city. When Abgar heard it he said: "He is the one that Jesus wrote about." And he immediately summoned him. Now it came about that when Thaddeus entered, a marvelous vision appeared to Abgar on Thaddeus' face, and rising from his throne he fell on his face and revered him. All the princes who were standing around him were astonished, for they had not seen the vision. Abgar said to him: "Are you truly the disciple of the blessed Jesus whom he said he would send to me here, and are you able to cure my pains?" Thaddeus answered him: "If you believe in Christ Jesus the Son of God, what your heart requests will be given to you." Abgar said to him: "I have believed in Him [g151] and in His Father. For that reason I wished to take my troops and go to destroy the Jews who crucified Him. [And I would have done this] had I not been prevented by the kingdom of the Romans."

With these words Thaddeus began to preach the gospel to [Abgar] and his city. Placing his hand [on Abgar] he cured him and also [cured] the gout of Abdiu, a prince of the city and the most honorable man in all the house of the king. He also healed all the sick and afflicted in the city. And all of them believed. Abgar himself and the whole city were baptized. They closed the doors of the temples of the idols, and they covered up with reeds the images that were on the altars and columns. [Thaddeus] did not bring anyone to the faith forcibly; however, day by day, the number of the faithful increased.

Apostle Thaddeus baptized a certain maker of silken headdresses named Adde, and ordained him [as bishop] over Edessa, and left him with the king in place of himself. Then [Thaddeus], after receiving an edict from Abgar [commanding] that all should hear the gospel of Christ, went to Sanatruk, Abgar's sister's son, whom [Abgar] had set over our land and troops. Abgar hastened to write a letter to Emperor Tiberius with the following content [g152]:

Abgar's letter to Tiberius

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive:
Letter to Tiberius.

"Abgar, king of the Armenians, wishes joy to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans.

"Even though I know that nothing is hidden from your majesty, yet as your intimate friend I am informing you about something more in writing. For the Jews who live in the districts of Palestine gathered together and crucified Christ without any fault on His part and despite the great benefits that He had worked among them—signs and wonders, even on occasion resurrecting the dead. Understand that these powers are not [those of] a mere man but of God. For at the time when they crucified Him, the sun was eclipsed and the ground shook from an earthquake. After three days, He himself rose from the dead and appeared to many. And now in every place His name accomplishes very great miracles through his disciples. He showed this to me [in my healing] very clearly. Consequently, your majesty knows whatever is right to command concerning the Jewish people who did this, and what to write to the whole world so that they worship Christ as the true God. Be well" [g153].

The reply to Abgar's letter from Tiberius

Tiberias, emperor of the Romans wishes joy to Abgar, king of the Armenians.

Your friendly letter, for which we express gratitude, was read in our presence. Even though we had previously heard this [news about Jesus] from many people, Pilate informed us accurately about his miracles and that after his resurrection from the dead many were persuaded that he was God. For that reason, I also wanted to do as you intended. Now because the Romans have a custom that they do not certify ("seat") a deity based solely on the emperor's decree until it has been examined and investigated by the senate, I therefore proposed this matter to the senate. But the senate rejected it since the matter had not been [properly] investigated by it previously. But we commanded everyone to whom Jesus seemed pleasing that they should accept him among the gods. And we threatened with death those who slandered the Christians. And as for the people of the Jews who dared to crucify him—and I hear that he was worthy neither of the cross nor of death but rather of honor and worship—when I have a rest from the war with the

Spaniards who revolted against me, I shall examine the matter and repay them in a worthy fashion [g154].

Again Abgar writes to Tiberius

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive:
Abgar to Tiberius.

Abgar, king of the Armenians, wishes joy to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans.

I have seen the letter written by your worthy majesty and I have rejoiced at your intended command. But if you will not be angry at me, the action of your senate is most foolish. For, according to them, it is through investigation by humans that divinity is granted. Consequently, if God does not please [these] people, He cannot be God; and by this reasoning people are worthy to intercede with God. But if it seems pleasing to you, my lord, send someone else to Jerusalem in place of Pilate, so that the latter may be removed in disgrace from the authority to which you appointed him. [This is] because he did the will of the Jews and crucified Christ without reason and without your permission. I wish for your good health."

Having written this [letter] Abgar placed a copy of it in his archive, along with the others. He also wrote to the young Nerseh, king of Assyria, in Babylon.

The letter of Abgar to Nerseh

Abgar, king of the Armenians, wishes joy to my son, Nerseh

I have seen your letter of greeting and have loosed Peroz from his fetters and have forgiven him his fault. If it is your will, designate him to the superintendency of Nineveh, as you choose. Now as regards what you wrote to me [g155] 'send me that doctor who works miracles and preaches another god who is superior to fire and water so that I may see and hear him,' [understand that] he was not a doctor with human skill but a disciple of the son of God, creator of fire and water. [This disciple] has been sent to the Armenian areas, having drawn that [territory as his] lot. But one of his principal comrades, named Simon, has been sent to the Persian areas, there [where you are]. Search for him and then hear him, you and also your father, Artashe's. And he will cure all illnesses and show you the path of life."

[Abgar] also wrote a letter with this content to Artashe's, king of the Persians:

Abgar's letter to Artashe's

Abgar, king of the Armenians, wishes joy to my brother Artashe's, king of the Persians.

"I know that by now you have heard about Jesus Christ, the son of God, whom the Jews crucified, who rose from the dead, and sent His disciples throughout the entire world to teach everywhere. One of His principal disciples, named Simon, is in some part of your realm. Now if you search for and find him, he will heal all the illnesses and diseases among you and show you the path of life. You should believe his words, you and your brothers and all who voluntarily submit to you. For it is pleasing to me that you, who physically are my kin, should also spiritually be my intimate relatives."

But before he had received replies to these letters, Abgar died, after reigning for 38 years [g156].

34.

Regarding the martyrdom of our apostles.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 34.

After the death of Abgar, the kingdom of the Armenians was divided into two parts. This happened because Ananun ("Nameless"), [Abgar's] son donned a crown in Edessa and his nephew (sister's son), Sanatruk, in Armenia. Events of his time have been previously described by others: the coming of the apostle Thaddeus to Armenia, Sanatruk's acceptance of the [Christian] faith, his apostasy for fear of the Armenian lords, the martyrdom of the apostle and those with him in the district of Shavarshan, which is now called Artaz, the opening and closing of the rock and its reception of the apostle's body, the removal [of the body] by his disciples and burial in the plain, the martyrdom of the king's daughter Sandukht near the road, the [subsequent] discovery there of the relics of the two [martyrs] and their removal to a rocky place [for burial]. All this, as we have said, others have related before us, so we did not consider it at all important to repeat it in full. Similarly, whatever concerns the death of Adde', the disciple of the apostle, at the hands of Abgar's son in Edessa has been described by others before us [g157].

When ["Ananun" (?Ma'nu), Abgar's son] came to the throne after his father's death, he did not inherit his father's virtue. Instead, he opened the idol temples and adhered to pagan worship. He sent to Adde' [with a demand] that he make for him a tiara of silk embroidered with gold, as he previously had made for his father. And he received in reply: "My hands will not make a tiara for an unworthy head that does not worship Christ the living God." ["Ananun"] immediately ordered one of his soldiers to cut off [Adde's] feet with a sword. When the soldier came and saw him sitting on his chair of instruction, he drew his sword and cut off [Adde's] legs. Straightway he gave up the ghost. We have recorded this very briefly as it has been related by others before us.

The apostle Bartholomew also drew Armenia as his lot. He was martyred among us in the city of Arebanus. But as for the Simon who drew Persia as his lot, I can say nothing certain about what he did or where he was martyred. Some relate that a certain apostle Simon was martyred in Veriosp'or. However, whether this is true and what the reason for his going there was, I do not know. I have merely noted this so that you may realize that I have spared no efforts in telling you everything that is appropriate [g158].

35.

Concerning the reign as king of Sanatruk, the killing of Abgar's descendants, and about Queen Helen.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 35.

When Sanatruk began to rule as king, he gathered forces under the command of his *dayeak*s (foster-parents, guardians) the Bagratid and Artsrunid braves, to descend and wage war against Abgar's sons so that he might rule over the whole kingdom. While he was occupied with this, the murder of Adde' by Abgar's son was avenged, by divine providence. For [Abgar's son] was having a marble pillar erected on the roof of his palace in Edessa, and he himself was standing below giving orders as to how it should be done. But [the column] slipped from the grasp of those holding it and fell on him, crushing his feet and killing him.

Immediately a message came to Sanatruk from the residents of the city, asking for a pact [stating] that [if] he would not disturb them in their Christian faith, [in return] they would hand over the city and the king's treasures. [Sanatruk] agreed to this, but subsequently violated [the agreement]. All the male children of the House of Abgar he put to the sword. The girls, however, he removed from the city to settle [them] in the Hashteank' areas. Similarly, the chief of Abgar's wives, whose name was Heghine', he sent to reside in his own city of Harran, leaving her the queenship *(ztiknut'iwnn)* of all Mesopotamia in return for the benefits that he had received from Abgar through her [g159].

This Helen, adorned with the faith like her husband Abgar, could not stand living among idolaters. And so she went to Jerusalem in the days of Claudius, during the famine that Agabus had predicted. Spending all her treasures in Egypt, she bought a great quantity of wheat and distributed it to all the needy. Josephus attests to this. Her noteworthy tomb stands before the gate to Jerusalem to this very day.

36.

Concerning the rennovation of the city of Nisibis, the naming of Sanatruk, and his death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 36.

Of the deeds wrought by Sanatruk we have considered nothing worthy of recording except the [re]building of the city of Nisibis. Since it had been destroyed by an earthquake, [Sanatruk] demolished it and rebuilt it [even] more splendidly, fortifying it with double walls and outwork. In the middle [of the city] he set up a statue of himself holding a coin in his hand, to indicate that in the construction of this city all his treasures had been spent and only this [one coin] remained.

However, now we must say why he was called Sanatruk. It happened that Abgar's sister, Awde, was traveling to Armenia in winter when she encountered a [160] snowstorm in the mountains of Korduk'. The storm scattered all of them to the point that they could not see their comrades. Now his *dayeak* (guardian, tutor, nurse) Sanota, sister of Biwrat Bagratuni and wife of Xosren Artsruni, took the child—for he was a small child—and put him against her bosom, remaining under the snow for three days and three nights. About this [incident] they speak as though it were a fable, to the effect that a marvelous white animal was sent by the gods and protected the child. But as far as we understand the matter, it happened like this: a white dog, sent out to search for them, found the child and nurse. Thus he was called Sanatruk, which derives from the nurse's name, with the meaning "gift of Sanota."

He came to the throne in the 12th year of Artashe's, king of the Persians. After living for thirty years, he died during a hunt, hit in the stomach by an arrow—as though in revenge for the torments he inflicted on his saintly daughter. Gherubna, son of Ap'shadar the scribe, wrote an account of all the things that occurred in the days of Abgar and Sanatruk and placed it in the archive in Edessa.

37.

The reign of Eruand and the destruction of Sanatruk's sons, and how Artashe's escaped and fled from it.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 37.

Following the death of King Sanatruk, there was some confusion in the kingdom. For a certain Eruand, son of a woman of the Arsacids, ruled as king in the eighth [g161] year of Darius the Last. There are stories about him, such as these [that follow]. A certain woman from the clan of the Arshakunik', who was huge of body, with large features, and lustful—someone no one could have endured marrying, gave birth to two boys through an illicit

union, just as Pasiphae [gave birth to] the Minotaur. As the boys grew up, they were called Eruand and Eruaz. Eruand matured into a courageous and physically powerful man. Sanatruk sent him as the overseer of many projects and he was so prominent that he became the first among the Armenian lords. Through humility and generosity, he attracted everyone to himself. Thus, when Sanatruk died, [the lords] unitedly enthroned [Eruand], without anyone from the Bagratid clan serving as coronant.

Now when Eruand became king, since he was suspicious of Sanatruk's sons, he destroyed all of them. It seemed that vengeance had been wrought for the killing of Abgar's sons. But there was a certain small boy, named Artashe's, whom his wet nurse had taken and fled to the Her areas, to the shepherds' cottages of Malkhazan. She informed his *dayeak* Smbat, son of Biwrat Bagratuni, in the district of Sper in the locality of Smbatawan. Now as soon as Smbat, son of Biwrat, had heard the bad news about Sanatruk and the distressing news about the destruction of his sons, [Smbat] took his two daughters, Smbatanoysh and Smbaturhi, and settled them in Bayberd, leaving brave men in charge of the castle. He himself with his one wife and a few men went there and they went out to search for [g162] the young Artashe's. When King Eruand learned about this he sent out scouts. Therefore he [Smbat] wandered for a long time on foot over the slopes of mountains and across plains in disguise with the child and nourishing him in the camps of shepherds and herdsmen until he found an opportune time to pass over to Darius, king of the Persians. Now because Smbat was a brave man and well known from earlier times, he was greatly honored among the Persian generals—as was the lad among the king's sons—and they received as a place of residence the districts called Bat and Ozomn.

38.

About Ervand's attempts to seize the lad Artashe's and his abandoning of Mesopotamia.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 38.

When Eruand thought over what sort of evil was being nourished against his kingdom among the Medes, there was apprehension in his heart and his sleep became uneasy. While awake, he worried about this constantly, and while sleeping he saw terrible dreams on the same matter. As a result, through messengers and by means of gifts he sought to placate the king of the Persians, so that he would give Artashe's into his hand. [Eruand] said: "You, who are of my blood and a genuine relation, why do you nourish the Mede Artashe's against me and my kingdom? [Why do you] heed the words of that bandit Smbat who claims that Artashe's is the son of Sanatruk [g163] and who tries to turn the son of shepherds and herdsmen into an Arsacid and claims that he shares blood and kinship with you? He is not the son of Sanatruk. Rather, Smbat deceitfully found some Median child and is making a mockery." He also sent to Smbat many times [mesages

asking]: "Why do you put yourself to so much trouble, in vain? You have been deceived by that wet nurse, and you are bringing up the son of a Mede in opposition to me." He received unpleasant words in reply. Then Eruand sent and had killed the braves in Bayberd, imprisoned the daughters of Smbat, and kept them not in bad conditions in the fortress of Ani.

Eruand supported the Romans. He ceded Mesopotamia to them, and was undisturbed during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. Thereafter the authority of the Armenians over Mesopotamia ended, and Eruand paid even heavier tribute from Armenia. The Roman officials restored Edessa in a grand manner and established there treasuries for the taxes collected from Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. They gathered there all the archives and set up two schools, one for their native Assyrian/Syriac [language], the other for Greek. They also transferred there the archive of taxes and the temple archive, which was in Sinop in Pontus [g164].

39.

Regarding the construction of the city of Eruandashat.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 39.

In [Eruand's] day they moved the court away from the hill called Armawir. This was because the Araxes River had moved some distance [from its prior location], and there was no longer enough water for the royal site during the long winter when the stream froze over from the bitter north winds. Eruand, bothered by this and also seeking a better-fortified site, moved the court westward to a rocky hill around which flowed on one side the Araxes and on the other the Akhurean. He built a wall around the hill, and inside the wall at many places he excavated the rock cutting down to the base of the hill level with the river, such that the water of the river flowed into the basins and was ready for drinking. The central fortress he strengthened with high walls and set in the middle of the wall bronze gates, with iron staircases which led from below up to the gates. In these, between the steps, he set hidden traps to catch anyone who might wish to enter secretly and betray the king. [The staircase] was, they say, a double one: one side served the royal servants and all those arriving and departing during the day; while the other was for the conspirators who operate at night [g165].

40.

About how [Eruand] built Bagaran, city of idols.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 40.

Now when Eruand built his own city he transferred there everything from Armawir except for the idols. [These] he did not think useful to him to bring to his [new] city, since when people came to sacrifice there the city could not be maintained securely. And so, about forty stadia distant to the north, on the banks of the Axurean River, he built a smaller city similar to his own and called it Bagaran, meaning that it held a collection of altars. [Eruand] transferred there all the idols that were in Armawir. And having built temples he appointed his own brother Eruaz as high priest.

41.

Concerning the planting of the forest called Tsnndots'.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 41.

He also planted a large forest on the northern side of the river and secured it with walls to keep inside the swift wild goats, the herds of hinds and stags, onagers, and boars that they might multiply and fill the forest and give the king joy on the days of the hunt. And he called the forest Tsnndots' ("Genesis") [g166].

42.

About the dzer'akert named Eruandakert.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 42.

It is pleasant for me also to speak about the beautiful estate (*dastakert*) of Eruandakert, which the same Eruand designed with lovely and charming constructions. He filled the center of the great valley with inhabitants and radiant buildings, bright as the pupil of an eye. Around the inhabited area were arranged fragrant flower beds, as the circle of the eye surrounds the pupil. A multitude of vineyards resembled the beautiful crescent of thick lashes; on the northern side its curved form truly imitated the arching brows of charming maidens. The levelness of the fields on the south side resembled the smoothness of beautiful cheeks. The river with its high banks resembled a mouth with two lips. Such was the beauty of the site that looked with an unblinking eye, you might say, up to the heights of the royal residence, a truly fertile and royal estate.

Trdat the Great gave all these constructions of Eruand's to the Kamsarakan clan as intimates and blood relatives of the Arsacid clan. This we shall describe in its own place.

However, they say that Eruand had the evil eye of a sorcerer. As a result of this, when he opened his eyes on waking [g167], the royal servants had the habit of holding before him blocks of granite, which, they say, burst from his terrible gaze. This, however, is false and a legend, or else he had some diabolical power to harm whomever he wanted, concealing [this ability] behind the rumor of an evil eye.

43.

How Smbat enlisted aid from the Persian lords and sought to enthrone Artashe's as king.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 43.

When the lad Artashe's grew up and after his guardian *(dayeak)* Smbat had displayed many deeds of bravery, the lords *(naxarars)* of the Aryans, being pleased with him, entreated the king to give him as a gift whatever he might ask for. The king agreed and said to the lords: "See what that brave man would like." And they replied: "Your immortal benevolence, Smbat wants nothing other than to establish on his own throne your genuine blood-relation, Artashe's, son of Sanatruk, who has been denied his own kingdom." The King of kings agreed to this and put at Smbat's disposal part of the Assyrian army and the troops of Atrpatakan so that they might take Artashe's and establish him on his patrimonial throne [g168].

44.

Concerning how Eruand heard about the coming of Artashe's and the assembling of troops in preparation for war.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 44.

News reached Eruand in the district of Utik' that "the king of the Persians has gathered many troops [and placed them] under Smbat's direction, to march against you and bring the young Artashe's to his own kingdom." When Eruand heard this, he left many lords there as guards of the region. He himself went quickly to his own city to gather around him, with entreaties and gifts, troops of Armenians and Iberians/Georgians and [troops from] the regions of Caesarea and also of Mesopotamia. Now since it was springtime, all the troops assembled speedily, including Argam, the *tanute'r* ("head") of the Muratsean clan who was descended from Azhdahak, with a mob of infantry. For Eruand had restored to him the second rank/position (or, "throne/seat"), which Tigran had taken from him and given to his own sister's husband, Mihrdat. Following Mihrdat's death [the position] had not been given to anyone until Eruand restored it to Argam. And not only to him, but also

to all the lords [Eruand] gave gifts and honors, including gifts liberally given to all the troops [g169].

45.

How the enterprise succeded when Artashe's entered his own land.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 45.

Now Smbat with the lad Artashe's hastened to reach the borders of Uti. The troops of that region came out before him [in reception] as did the lords whom Eruand had left there. When the other lords of the Armenians heard about this they lost their courage and planned how to abandon Eruand. Moreover, they also saw that the troops of the Romans did not come to his aid. Eruand, however, gave even more generous gifts and distributed treasures to them one by one; but the more he gave, the more hateful he became. Everyone knew that he was not giving out of generosity but from fear [of abandonment]. Furthermore, he did not so much endear himself to those he gave a lot to, as he made enemies of those he had not given to lavishly enough.

46.

Eruand's war with Artash'es and his flight; the taking of his city, and his death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 46.

Smbat, with the lad Artashe's, ascended to the shore of the Sea of Gegham [Lake Van], behind the mountain called Aragats. They were hurrying to encounter Eruand's army, regarding as nothing the multitude [g170] of his troops. They only kept an eye on Argam [lord of the] Murats'enik', who was a valiant man and lord of many lancers. Eruand's camp was distant to the north by more than three hundred stadia from his city on the Axurean River. When Eruand heard this news [about Artashe's' arrival] he sent forward the multitude of his troops and deployed them not far from his own camp. But Artashe's sent a message to Argam, patriarch of the Murats'enik', with many oaths [saying] that he would leave him with whatever he had received from Eruand and would double it, provided that he would completely abandon Eruand.

And when the banners of Artashe's advanced to opposite Eruand's battle formation, Argam took the multitude of his infantry and went off to the side. Smbat ordered that the bronze horns should to be sounded and advanced his battle line, swooping like an eagle over flocks of partridges. The lords of the Armenians of the left and right wings went over

to his side, joining him. The troops of the Iberians with their king P'arsman, although they boldly struck a blow at first, quickly turned and fled to the other side. There one could see the terrible destruction of Eruand's brigade and of the Mesopotamian troops. When the two lines clashed together [g171] Artashe's was attacked by some daring men from the Taurus, who at the cost of their lives had made a pact with Eruand to kill Artashe's. However Gisak, the son of Artashes' wet nurse, went among them on foot and killed them, [but in the encounter] half of his face was cut off by a sword. He was victorious, but died after [performing] such feats. The remainder of the troops turned in flight.

As for Eruand, on his own horse he covered many stadia, then he successively changed to new horses as he passed the [relay] stations *(xan)* set up on the road from his camp to his capital, fleeing from place to place. Brave Smbat pursued him, pressing him hard in the night as far as the city gate. The troops of the Medes, having crossed over to the side where Eruand's brigade [was located], encamped in the dark over the corpses. Artashe's came up and entered Eruand's tent whose walls were covered with curtains of skins and linen, and passed the night in his tent. When morning dawned, as victor he ordered the dead to be buried, and he called the meadow where he had camped over the corpses Marats' *marg* ("Meadow of the Medes") and the site of the battle, Eruandawan, which is so called up to this day, that is, "in this place he defeated Eruand." He himself went off to Eruand's [g172] [main] city and arrived at Eruand's estate *(dastakert)* before midday. And he ordered his troops to shout out in unison *"Mar amat,"* which translates "the Medes have arrived." This was to remind him of the insult [directed at Artashe's] when Eruand had sent to the Persian king and to Smbat, calling [Artashe's] a Mede. From that same expression the estate was renamed Marme't, as it was the desire of Artashe's to remove Eruand's name from the place. That is the reason for the naming of the estate.

But Smbat, who had pursued Eruand through the night with a small band, guarded the city gate until the arrival of Artashe's and the whole army. When the braves began attacking the fortress, the men of the fortress surrendered and opened the city gate. However, one of the soldiers entered and struck off Eruand's head with a sword, scattering his brains over the floor. From such a blow he died, having held the throne for twenty years. But Artashe's, recalling that Eruand had some admixture of Arsacid blood, ordered his corpse to be buried with a funerary monument.

47.

The reign of Artashe's and the rewarding of his benefactors.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 47.

After the death of Eruand, Smbat entered the royal [properties] and sought out the treasures. Finding the crown of King Sanatruk, he placed it on the head of Artashe's and made him king over the entire country of the Armenians [g173] in the 29th year of Darius, king of the Persians. Now once Artashe's began to reign, gave gifts to the armies of the Medes and Persians and released them to return to their own land. He also gave to the brave and honorable Argam the promised second rank [or, throne, *gah*], a crown (*psak*) decorated with sapphires, earrings for both ears, a red shoe for one foot, [the honor] to use a golden spoon and fork and to drink from golden goblets. He bestowed nothing less than these honors on his tutor, Smbat, except for the two earrings and the red slipper. And in addition to Smbat's patrimonial honors—of coronant, of aspet, and of the authority over the army of the west—[Artashe's] entrusted him with control over the entire Armenian forces, over all officials of the whole land, and over all the royal household. And Nerses, son of Gisak, son of his wet nurse, having established a [lordly] clan from him, he named it Dimak'sean after the martyrdom of his father. For as we have said, half of his face was cut off by a sword for the sake of Artashe's.

In this same period it is said about him that he also created a [noble] clan from the sons of Toyr, fifteen youths, and named them Truni after their father's namenot because of any brave deeds but merely because of the informing that their father had done for Smbat from the king's house; for he was a confidant of Eruand's, and for that reason he had been put to death by him [g174].

48.

The killing of Eruaz and the building of [a] second Bagaran, and the paying of taxes to the Romans by Artashe's.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 48.

After this [Artashe's] commanded Smbat to go to the fortress of Bagaran—which was close to Eruand's capital on the Axurean River—to kill Eruaz, Eruand's brother. Smbat seized him and ordered a millstone to be hung around his neck and that he be thrown into a whirlpool of the river. In his place, he put in charge of the altars the friend of Artashe's, the student of a certain magus who interpreted dreams. For that reason he was called Mogpashte'. Then [Smbat] plundered the treasures of Eruaz and brought to Artashe's five hundred slaves and also the most precious of the temple treasures. Artashe's gifted Smbat with Eruaz' slaves, but he ordered the treasures to be taken to Darius, king of the Persians, adding to them from his own treasures, as a gift of thanks to a father and helper.

Then Smbat took Eruaz' slaves, whom he had taken captive in Bagaran, and settled them behind Masis, calling the locality/estate *(dzer'akert)* by the same name, Bagaran. He

himself crossed into Persia bearing the gifts for Darius, ignoring the Roman empire. But when Smbat had gone to Persia, the emperor's tax collectors and a powerful army arrived at the borders of the Armenians. Now it happened that Artashe's, through entreaties and by paying double the tax [g175], was able to reconcile them. Ughiwmb (Olympius), priest of Ani and writer of temple histories, accurately informs us about this [event] as well as about many other things which we have yet to tell, and to which the books of the Persians and the songs of Armenian storytellers bear witness.

49.

Regarding the building of the city Artashat.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 49.

Many of the deeds of the last Artashe's are known to you from the tales narrated in Gogh't'n: the building of the city, the alliance with the Alans and the birth of their offspring, the supposed passion of Sat'inik for the descendants of the *Vishap*s (Dragons), according to the fable—that is, for the descendants of Azhdahak who held all [the land] at the foot of Masis; the battle with them and their fall from power, their killing, and the burning of their buildings; the jealousy of Artashe's sons [toward each other] and their mutual aggrevation brought about by their women; all these [episodes], as we said, are known to you from the songs of storytellers. But let us also recall them briefly, elucidating the allegories.

Artashe's went to the place where the Araxes and Metsamo'r [rivers] join; pleased with the hill [there] he built a city on it, which he called Artashat, after his own name [g176]. The Araxes provided him with pine [or, cedar] wood, so it was built quickly and effortlessly. He erected in it a temple and transferred to it from Bagaran the statue of Artemis and all the ancestral idols. But the statue of Apollo he erected outside the city near the road. They brought from Eruand's city the Jewish captives who had been transferred there from Armawir, and he settled them in Artashat. Similarly all the splendors of Eruand's capital that the latter had brought from Armawir, plus those that he had fashioned there, [Artashe's] transferred to Artashat. And he himself embellished the city even more, as the city where the king resided.

50.

The invasion of the Alans against us, their defeat, and how Artashe's established [marital] relations with them.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 50.

In that period the Alans, having united with all the highlanders, and having also brought to their side half the land of the Iberians, came and spread throughout our land in a great mob. Artashe's assembled the multitude of his forces and a war took place between two brave peoples who were also [fine] archers. After a while the Alans gave ground some, departing and crossing the great Kura River. They encamped on the northern bank of the river, while Artashe's arrived and encamped on the southern bank, with the river between them.

Now it came about that the son of the king of the Alans had been captured by the troops of the Armenians and led before Artashe's. For that reason, the king of the Alans sought peace [g177] [and was prepared] to give Artashe's whatever he wanted. He said that he would establish permanent oaths and treaties so that the Alan youths would no more spread their plundering raids over the lands of the Armenians. When Artashe's did not agree to give up the lad, his sister came to the bank of the river and went onto a large hill, and, by means of translators she called out to Artashe's' army: "I say this to you, Artashe's, you brave man, you who have defeated the valiant Alan people. Come, consent to the request of the beautiful-eyed Alan princess to give up the youth. For it is not right for heroes to exterminate the offspring of other heroes for the sake of vengeance, or by subjecting them, to keep them in the rank of slaves and perpetuate eternal enmity between two brave nations." When Artashe's heard such wise words, he went to the bank of the river. Seeing the beautiful maiden and hearing these words of wisdom from her, he desired her. Calling to his guardian *(dayeak)* Smbat, he revealed to him the desire of his heart, to have the princess of the Alans for his wife, to establish treaties and oaths between the two valiant peoples, and to release the young man in peace. This pleased Smbat, and he sent to the king of the Alans to give in marriage as queen *(tikin)* to Artashe's, the princess of the Alans, Sat'inik. Then the king of the Alans said: "Whence will the brave Artashe's provide the thousands upon thousands and myriads upon myriads for [the bride price of] the high-born maiden princess of the Alans [g178]?"

Story-tellers, in their songs, outline these events in mythic fashion:

> "Brave King Artashe's mounted a beautiful black horse
> and, taking out a lasso made of red leather with a gold ring,
> like a swift-winged eagle, he sped across the river.
> Casting the red-leather lasso with the gold ring
> around the waist of the Alan princess,
> causing great pain to the tender maiden’s waist
> [He seized her] and quickly brought her to his camp."

The truth of the matter is as follows. Since red leather was greatly esteemed by the Alans, he gave much *lac* and red leather as payment and took the Alan princess as his queen.

This is the red leather lasso with a gold ring. In the same way, fabulously they sing about the wedding:

"A shower of gold rained down at the marriage of Artashe's; it rained pearls at the wedding of Sat'inik."

For it was the practice of our kings when, as grooms they came to the door of the palace, to scatter gold coins, like Roman consuls. The queens also [had the practice of scattering] pearls in their wedding chamber. Such is the true meaning of these words.

[Sat'inik] was the first of the wives of Artashe's, and bore him Artawazd and many others. Presently, we do not regard it as important to describe them by name, but later on [we will mention them] when we reach whatever they did [g179].

51.

The killing of Argam and his sons.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 51.

When Artawazd, son of Artashe's, reached maturity he proved to be a brave men, self-satisfied and proud. Out of envy for the old Argam, he incited his own father to anger against him on the pretext that [Argam] was planning to rule over the entire kingdom. In this way [Artawazd] deprived him of his honor and gained the second rank for himself. After this, Artashes went to a banquet of Argam's. Now, there was some suspicion that a plot was planned against the king, and so the king's sons raised an alarm and at the very table seized Argam's white hairs and pulled them out. In great agitation, King Artashe's went to Artashat and sent back his son Mazhan with a large force, ordering him to kill many of the Muratsean clan, to burn Argam's palace. [Artashe's also ordered Mazhan] to bring back [Argam's] concubine, named Mandu, who was very remarkable for her beauty and graceful gait, to be Artashe's' concubine. Two years later he further weakened [Argam] and ordered him to give up his [remaining] possessions with the exception of the concubine.

Artawazd, not satisfied with having taken away from them the honor of the second [throne], additionally deprived them of Naxchawan and all the villages located north of the Erasx, with their palaces and fortresses [g180], turning [all this] into his hereditary possession. Argam's sons, unable to endure this, resisted him with battle. But [Artawazd] defeated the king's sons, and killed all the offspring of Argam along with their father, as well as all those who were once prominent in the clan of the Murats'eank', seizing for himself their localities and their entire principality. None of them survived except for

some insignificant people and some who were junior [in rank], who fled to Artashe's [as refugees] and lived at the royal court. It is this Argam who is called Argawan in the fable, and this is the reason for the war with Artawazd.

52.

What kind of man Smbat was; what he did among the Alans; the settlement of Artaz.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 52.

It is pleasant for me to speak about the brave man, Smbat; for truly, the legend about him is not so far from the truth. The size of his limbs was commensurate with his valor; he hunted spiritual virtue. The beauty of his grey hair was a joy to behold. He had a small blood mark in his eye, resembling [red] dragon's wort on gold surrounded by pearls. Agile of person and body, he also was prudent in everything. He was gifted with success in battle, more than [g181] everyone else. After such displays of bravery, [Smbat], upon Artashe's' order, went with troops to the land of the Alans, to provide assistance to Sat'inik's brother. For it had happened that on the death of Sat'inik's father, another person was ruling as king over the land of the Alans, by having seized power. And [this usurper] had expelled Sat'inik's brother. Smbat put [him] to flight, and established Sat'inik's brother as lord over [his] people. [Smbat also] ruined the country of his opponents and took [them] captive in a large mass to Artashat. Artashe's ordered [Smbat] to settle them on the southeastern side of Masis [Mt. Ararat], which is called the district of Shawarshan, preserving on them [their] native name of Artaz—since the land the captives came from is called Artaz to the present day.

53.

Destruction of [the land of] the Kasbk' and the quarrel of the descendants of Artashe's with Smbat and with each other.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 53.

After the death of the last Arshak, king of the Persian, our own Artashe's enthroned [the Persian king's] son with the same name, Artashe's, over the land of the Persians. However, the inhabitants of the mountains did not want to submit to him. [These folk] included those who call their district Patizhahar in their own language, and those [who dwell] on the mountain of the Geghunians and the sea coast as well as those who lived beyond them. Similarily, the country of the Kaspbk' on this account rebelled against our [designated] king. For this reason, Artashe's sent Smbat against them, with all the

Armenian forces [g182], and the king himself also accompanied them for seven days [of the campaign]. Smbat went and subdued all of them. But, after wrecking the country of the Kasbk', he took captives back to Armenia—more [in number] than the Artaz captives. Among them was one named Zardmanos, their king. [King] Artashe's rewarded [Smbat] according to his just deserts, giving him a portion of the royal [properties] [located] in the villages of Goght'n, and the springs of Ught. Beyond that, he left him all the booty. Artawazd grew envious over this and wanted to kill Smbat. Now it happened that the plot was revealed, which caused the father much grief because of it. But Smbat gave way and went to the Asorestan areas on his own initiative, ceding command over the troops of the Armenians—a position which Artawazd greatly coveted. [Smbat], at Artashe's' command, dwelled in Tmorik', which is now called Kordrik'; and he settled the multitude of the captives in Aghki. For [Smbat], in his old age, had taken a wife (whom he loved very much) from among the Assyrians [living] near those areas. For these reasons, he went and dwelled in the place he haled from.

Now after Smbat's departure, Artawazd got from his father what he had been craving—rule over the entire [military] forces. His brothers grew envious of him through the agitation of their women. For this reason, Artashe's designated Vroyr as *hazarapet*. [Vroyr was] a wise and creative man, and [Artashe's] entrusted him with all the work of the royal court. [Artashe's] also designated Mazhan chief priest (*k'rmapet*) of the god Aramazd in Ani. Artashe's also divided command [g183] of the troops into four [divisions]: the Eastern force he left under Artawazd; the Western [command] he gave to Tiran; the Southern, he entrusted to Smbat; and the Northern, to Zareh. Now Zareh was an arrogant fellow, enflamed by the hunt, but weak and careless in military matters. Having seen this, K'ardzam, a king of the Iberians, caused the [northern] country to rebel [from the Armenian king]. Then [K'ardzam], seizing Zareh, imprisoned him in the Caucasus. At this, Artawazd and Tiran, along with Smbat, came forth to battle, and freed their brother from a great muddy place.

54.

Warfare against the troops of Domitian in Basean.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 54.

It happened [in this period], when some tumult and confusion had arisen in the West, that Artashe's—convinced by this—rose up and resisted the lordship of the Romans by not paying taxes. Emperor Domitian [A.D. 81-96], enraged, sent troops against Artashe's. [Domitian's forces], having reached the border of Caesarea, swept Tiran and the Western army before it, relentlessly driving them back to the expansive valley of Basean. Then Artawazd went to oppose them with the Eastern and Northern forces along with all the

king's sons. They fought but [the royal forces] were in a very difficult and dangerous situation. It was at this juncture that Smbat arrived with the Southern troops. Passing through the midst, [Smbat] saved the king's sons and victoriously ended the battle. Even though he was very old, [Smbat] controlled the battle line like a young man. Moreover, he went in pursuit and harassed the troops of the Romans as far as the borders of Caesarea [g184].

When [story-tellers] want to sing about this [event], they say: A certain Domet came [here], he being the very Emperor Domitian. But he did not come here in person. Rather, metaphorically, they attach his name to his command and troops.

Now it was Artashe's' [good] fortune that in this same period, Domitian died in Rome. Following him was Nerva [A.D. 96-98], who did not rule for more than a year. Consequently, the troops of the Armenians and the Persians were emboldened and commenced making additional raids on Greek territory [in Asia Minor]. Seeing this, the Egyptians and Palestinians also stopped [paying] taxes to the Romans.

55.

Regarding Trajan and his deeds; and the death of Mazhan [caused] by his brothers.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 55.

In these times, Trajan [A.D. 98-117] was ruling as king over the Romans. He pacified the entire West, going against the Egyptians and the Palestinians. Having subdued them with his own hand, he went East, against the Persians. Artashe's hastened there with very great gifts, descending before him, blaming himself and bringing before him taxes for the past years. Receiving pardon from him, he returned to the land of the Armenians. Trajan passed over to Persia, accomplished all that he desired and returned via Asorestan.

Then Mazhan came before [Trajan] and [falsely] betrayed his brothers, saying, "Know, O king, that if you fail to expel Artawazd and Tiran, and if you do not entrust the forces of the Armenians to Zareh, the taxes will not easily reach you." Mazhan did this since he nursed a grudge on Smbat's behalf [g185], for the latter had raised him. At the same time, [Mazhan] planned to remove Tiran so that he himself simultaneously would be chief-priest and *sparapet* (commander-in-chief of the army) of the West. However, Trajan showed no interest and dismissed him empty-handed. Now when Artawazd and Tiran learned about his plan, they set an ambush for Mazhan and killed him. Then they took and buried him in the place of altars of the gods *(Bagnats' awan)*, as chief-priest. Following this, Artashe's regularly paid taxes to Trajan and, after him, to Emperor Hadrian [A.D. 117-137], all the days of his life.

56.

Regarding how Artashe's increased the population of the land and fixed the borders.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 56.

After accomplishing all these virtuous and just deeds, Artashe's ordered that the borders of villages and farms should be determined. For he had increased the population of the land of the Armenians by bringing in many foreign peoples and settling them in the mountains, valleys, and fields. He established markers for the borders as follows: he ordered that four-sided stones be cut and that their centers should be hollowed out like bowls, and that [these stone foundations] should be buried in the ground. Then, four-sided towers were raised on top, somewhat off the ground. Now [the Sasanian *shah*] Artashir, son of Sasan, envied these [border markers] and ordered that the same should be done in the land of the Persians—and that they should be named after himself, so that the name of Artashe's would no longer be recalled.

It is said that in the time of Artashe's there was no unworked ground in the land of the Armenians, neither in mountains nor plains, because of the [extensive] cultivation of the land [g186].

57.

About the naxarardom of the Amatunik'.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 57.

They say that in his days, the clan of the Amatunik' arrived [in Armenia] from the eastern part of the land of the Aryans. But, by origin, they are Jewish, descended from a certain Manue. His son was a tall and powerful [man] called Samson—for it is the custom among the Jews to call [their children] after the names of ancestors in hopes [of resembling them]. It is true, as even now one can see this among the Amatunik' clan, since they are personable, well-formed, worthy in all respects, and strong. [The Amatunik'] had been taken there by the first of the kings of the Parthians, Arshak. They advanced until they achieved [high] honor in the Aryan land in the Ahmatan [Hamadan] areas. As to what the cause was of their coming here, I do not know. But they were honored by Artashe's with villages and estates and called Amatunik', that is to say, "Arrivals" (those who came). Some of the Persians call them Manueans, after their ancestor.

58.

About the Ar'awegheank' tohm; where this clan (azg) sprang from.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 58.

In his days also the Ar'awegheank'—who were of the people of the Alans, relations of Sat'inik who had come along with her—were established as a [separate] clan and *naxarar*dom in the land of the Armenians, as true relations of the great queen. In the time of Xosrov, Trdat's father, they established marriage ties with a certain warrior of the Basilk' who had come [to Armenia] after separating from them [g187].

59.

Knowledge of the arts in the days of Artashe's.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 59.

Because many deeds were done in the days of Artashe's, we have therefore broken them into many chapters so that the length of them would not fatigue readers. This final account is intended, as it were, to mention everything else that took place in the period of Artashe's. For although Vagharshak and our other early kings—as we recalled in previous chapters—introduced many wonderful orders and customs, yet they neglected the grandest of the arts and sciences. [This was because] they were occupied with raids and marauding, and so either did not bother with such learning or had not yet reached that level [to appreciate it]. I am speaking about such things as [chronology based on] cycles of weeks, months, and years. Such things were not recognized among them—such [tools that] other peoples used. [They did not know about] navigation on the lakes of the land, or travel on the rivers, not about implements for fishing. Moreover, there was not cultivation of the land all over, but only in rare spots. Rather, following the custom of the Northerners, they ate carrion and similar food. All this was reformed in the time of Artashe's [g188].

60.

About the death of Artashe's.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 60.

Ariston of Pella gives a beautiful account of the death of Artashe's. Now it happened that at the time when the Jews rebelled from Hadrian (who was then ruling over the Romans [A.D. 117-137]), they fought against the eparch Rufus and were under the leadership of a certain robber named Bar Kochba (Bark'oba)—that is, "son of a star." [Bar Kochba], though a doer of evil deeds and a murderer, nonetheless, based on his name, boasted that he had come from Heaven as a savior for the oppressed and enslaved. He so intensified the fight that, looking to him, Syria, Mesopotamia, and all of Persia also stopped paying taxes to the Romans. It had also been heard that the disease of leprosy had infected Hadrian. However, our Artashe's did not display disloyalty toward him.

At the same time, Hadrian arrived in Palestine and destroyed the rebels by besieging [them] in a small city close to Jerusalem. For that reason [Hadrian] ordered that the entire nation of the Jews should be removed from their patrimonial land such that they might not see Jerusalem even from a great distance. Then he [re]built Jerusalem, which had been ruined by Vespasian, Titus, and himself, and called it Helia after his own name, since [the name] Hadrian means "sun." He settled in it pagans and Christians whose bishop was a certain Markos. At that time he sent [g189] a large force through the Assyrian areas, and ordered our Artashe's to go to Persia with his own *zygostates* [? "charioteers"]. With him as secretary was the man who provided this story to us. He had encountered Artashe's among the Medes at a place named Sohund.

It happened that [Artashe's] became ill at Marand, in the hamlet of Bakurakert. Now [with Artashe's] was a certain Abeghoy who was patriarch *(nahapet)* of the Abeghen clan *(tohm)*, a cunning, flattering, and deceitful man whom [Artashe's] sent at his own request to Eriza in Ekegheats' [district] to the temple of Artemis to request healing and long life from the idols. In returning, he did not arrive back before Artashe's' death. And [the narrator] describes the large mass of people who died at Artashe's' death: beloved wives and concubines, and intimate servants; and how varied were the glorious displays [of grief] they made in honor of the corpse, following civilized rather than barbarian forms. The coffin, he says, was made of gold; the bier and litter were of fine linen; the robe on the body had gold embroidery; the crown on his head and his weapons before him were of gold. Around the bier were his sons and a multitude of relatives and, behind them, the military officials, [clanal] patriarchs *(nahapet*-s), brigades of *naxarar*s as well as battalions of troops all in military dress, as though going to war [g190] in battle formation. In front, bronze trumpets sounded, behind came *gusan*s (minstrels) dressed in black and sounding forth, and wailing women and with them the multitude of the common folk. In this manner they took and buried [Artashe's]. Around the grave, voluntary deaths took place, as we mentioned above. [This king], so beloved by our land, reigned for 41 years.

The reign of Artawazd; expulsion of his brothers and sisters, and his death, with an allegorical [interpretation].

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 61.

After Artashe's, his son, Artawazd, reigned. He expelled all his brothers from Ayrarat to the districts of Aghiovit and Ar'beran so that they would not reside on royal properties in Ayrarat. [Artawazd] kept with him only [his brother] Tiran, as a successor, since he had no sons of his own. Now a short time after he began to rule, he was crossing the bridge to the city of Artashat to hunt wild boars and onagers around the springs of Gen. Confused and crazed by some delusion, he turned about on his horse and fell into a deep pit, sank down, and disappeared.

The singers of Gogh't'n relate this in their fabulous way, to the effect that at the death of Artashe's many [people] were killed [as sacrifices] according to pagan practice. They say that Artawazd was displeased by this and said to his father: "Since at your departure you [g191] took the whole country with you, I shall rule over ruins." For that, Artashe's cursed him, saying: "If you go up to hunt on Azat Masis, may the *k'ajk'* (spirits) catch you, take you up Azat Masis where you will remain and not see the light."

Old women also narrate about him that he is confined in a cave, and bound with iron chains. [They say that] two dogs constantly are gnawing at the chains. [Artawazd] tries to emerge to effect the end of the world. But, they say, his fetters are strengthened by the sounds of the blacksmiths' hammering. For that reason, in our own times, many blacksmiths, following the legend, on the first day of the week strike the anvil three or four times, so that the chains of Artawzad are strengthened. But the truth of the matter is as we said above.

Now some say that something happened to him at birth—that women from among the descendants of Azhdahak placed a spell on him and, for that reason, Artashe's visited many evils upon them. The same singers narrate it this way, as though a fable: "The descendants of the dragon *(vishapazunk')* stole the baby Artawazd and put a demon *(dew)* in his place." What seems to me to be the truth is the information that [Artawazd] was deranged from birth onward and [eventually] died of it. Tiran, his brother, then took [rule over] the kingdom [g192].

62.

About Tiran.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 62.

Tiran, son of Artashe's, reigned over the Armenians in the second year of Peroz the First, king of the Persians. They do not relate any very great deeds about him, only that he faithfully served the Romans. He lived in peace, occupied with hunting and amusements, as they say. [Tiran] had two horses, lighter than Pegasus and incredibly fast, which seemed to fly through the air rather than treading on the ground. A certain Datak'e', prince of the Bznunik', having asked to ride them, boasted that he was richer than the king.

Members of his own Arsacid clan who were in the Hashteank' area previously had come to him, saying: "Enlarge our inheritance, for it is cramped as we have greatly multiplied. [Tiran] ordered some of them to go to the district of Aghiovit and Ar'beran. These [folk] protested yet more before the king that "this is even more cramped for us." However, Tiran did not heed them at all. Instead, [Tiran] confirmed his decision to give them no additional [territorial] inheritance than what they [then] possessed which they should divide up equally among themselves. When they made [such a] division based on the number [of recipients], it was discovered that the inheritance of those dwelling in Hashteank' was lacking. For this reason, many of them came to the district of Aghiovit and Ar'beran.

In [Tiran's] day, they say, that there was a lad named Eraxnawu, from the Andzawats'ik' clan, perfect in everything, who took as a wife the last [g193] of Artawazd's wives, who had been brought from Greece. Because Artawazd had no son, the king left to Eraxnawu the entire House of Artawazd. For they say that he was a select man, modest in everything as well as being proper concerning desires of the flesh. Since the king [Tiran] liked him, he gave [to Eraxnawu] the second throne [of the realm] which Artawazd had held, as well as entrusting him with care of the eastern forces. [Tiran also] left with him a certain Druasp, who was a Persian intimate of his, who became related by marriage to the lords of Vaspurakan. [Tiran] gave him the hamlet of Tateo'ns, with its farms and a large vineyard which is irrigated by a canal drawing water from Lake Gaylatu. Then [Tiran] himself went to the Ekegheats' areas and established his court in the hamlet of Ch'rme's. He ruled the kingdom in peace for 21 years and then died on the road under a snowfall.

63.

About Trdat Bagratuni and the names of his predecessors.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 63.

There was a certain fearless and powerful man, Trdat, from the Bagratuni clan. He was the son of Smbatuhi who was the daughter of the brave Smbat, and was [a man] of short

stature and vile appearance. Now King Tiran made a son-in-law of Trdat by marrying to him his daughter, Eraneak. [Eraneak] hated her husband Trdat, and was constantly sulking and grumbling [g194] lamenting her [fate] that she, a beautiful woman, lived with an ugly man and that she, [descending from] a noble clan *(tohm)*, dwelled with someone from a base clan. One day Trdat, becoming furious with this, beat her severely, cut off her blonde hair, pulling out strands of hair, and ordered her to be dragged from the chamber and thrown outside. Then, in rebellion, [Trdat] went to the secure areas of the Medes. However, when he arrived at the land of Siwnik, news reached him about Tiran's death. Hearing this, [Trdat] stayed there.

Now it came about that on one day Bakur, the patriarch *(nahapet)* of Siwnik, called [Trdat] to dine with him. Making merry, and full of wine, [Trdat] spied an extremely attractive woman named Nazinik who was singing [and moving] her hands. Enflamed with lust, he said to Bakur, "Give me this singer." But Bakur replied, "I won't give her up. She is my concubine." Trdat seized the woman and pulled her to him on the couch and lustfully began to fondle her, like a young unbridled lover. Bakur, in a fit of rage, jumped up to take her away from him. However, Trdat, rising to his feet and using a vase of flowers as a weapon, drove from the table those who were reclining there. There one could see [a spectacle] reminiscent of the killing of Penelope's suitors by this new Odysseus, or the struggle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs at Perithous' wedding [g195]. [Trdat], having reached his own dwelling, immediately got on a horse with the concubine and went off to [the district of] Sper. We will say no more about this man who was a slave to passion.

But know this: the Bagratid clan abandoned the laws of their fathers. First, they acquired rude [versions of] names [such as] Biwrat and Smbat and other such callings, deprived as they were of their ancestral names, prior to their apostasy, Bagadia, Tubia, Senek'ia, Asud, Sap'atia, Vazaria, and Enanos. And it seems to me that the names which the Bagratids use [such as] Bagarat [derive from] Bagadia; Ashot, from Asud; Varaz, from Vazaria, and Smbat, from Shambat.

64.

Tigran the Last—the sort of man he was, and his deeds.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 64.

Tiran was succeeded by his brother, Tigran the Last, who ruled as king over the Armenians in the 24th year of Peroz, king of the Persians. [Tigran] lived for a long time—42 years—and then died, having displayed no deeds of valor worthy of recall, except that a Greek maiden [g196] had captured him in an ambush at the time of the death of the

emperor of the Romans, Titus the Second, who was Antoninus Augustus [Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161]. Peroz, king of the Persians, invaded the realm of the Romans. It was from this [event] that Peroz received his name [meaning] "the victorious," since beforehand he was styled Vaghegesos in the Greek language. But what the Persians themselves called him, I do not know.

Now it happened that when Peroz went raiding via Syria into the areas of the Palestinians, our Tigran, because of him and at his command, went raiding in the Mediterranean areas. There he was captured by a certain girl who ruled those parts. This occurred at the time Emperor Lucianos [Lucius Verus] was building the temple in Athens. [Lucianos] with many troops crossed over to the Meditarranean [areas] following the death of Peroz, conquered the Armenians, and freed Tigran. [Lucianus] gave to him as a wife the maiden R'op'i, his relative, but when [Tigran] came [back] to Armenia he left her. The four lads born from her [Tigran] made into the clan named R'op'sean after their mother, R'op'i. The first of the youths he made patriarch (*nahapet*), and included him among the other lords, so that they would not bear the Arshakuni name.

This Tigran also established other lesser clans here and in the areas of Korche'k'. Although undistinguished in military service, nonetheless they were individually prominent, and had saved him in the war with [g197] the Greeks. These [folk] were from Korche'k' and others from our area, I believe, who [descended] from those living near the Vche'nik', some from the line of the descendants of Hayk (Haykazunk') and others as emigrants. [The reasons] that I do not mention them by name [are, firstly,] that they are not clear to us and [secondly,] because we are avoiding the labor of such work and thirdly because the uncertainty [of information] about many [including them], would introduce doubts about all [the rest]. For this reason we shall say nothing about those clans established by Tigran the Last, although on many occasions you have sought [such accounts] from us but [we shall discuss] only about those we know reliably [their] succession. As much as possible, we have fled from superfluous and elaborate wording, and whatever words and thoughts reflected unreliability. [Instead] we have followed as much as we are able in our own and in other's [accounts] what is truest and most accurate. I do the same here, refraining from a stream of inappropriate words and from anything that can give rise to wrong opinions. And I beg you now, even as I have done many times, do not force us to do unnecessary things and do things that, through shortage or excess of words, can turn all our great and reliable work into something vain and unnecessary. For this would cause harm to both of us equally [g198].

65.

About the reign as king of Vagharsh and the making of the hamlet of Basean, the

fortification of Nor-K'aghak' [New City/Vagharshapat] with walls; war with the Khazars and [Vagharsh's] death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 65.

After Tigran's death, his son Vagharsh came to rule in the 32nd year of the reign of the king of the Persians, Vagharsh. He made a great hamlet in the place where he had been born. This was on the road which his mother was travelling to her winter place in Ayrarat, when suddenly she was seized with labor pains and gave birth there, *en route*, in the district of Basean at the place where the Murts' and Arax rivers converge. He built this and named it Vagharshawan after himself. He also surrounded with walls the mighty hamlet of Vardge's located on the K'asax River. About [it] they say in fable-like form:

> "The lad Vadge's separated and left the district of Tuh by the K'asagh River [and Vardge's] came and dwelled by the hill Shre'sh, by the city Artime'd, to pound on and hammer the gates of King Ervand."

This Ervand is Ervand the First, the Short-lived, who was of the descendants of Hayk. Vardge's took for a wife the sister [of King Ervand] and built up this hamlet. Tigran the Middle One, the Arsacid, settled half the Jews of the first captivity [in this hamlet] which [[g199] became a town [village-city] with a marketplace [or, market meetings]. Now this Vagharsh surrounded this [area] with a wall and strong ramparts and named it Vagharshapat, which also is called *Nor k'aghak* ("New City").

He reigned as king for 20 years and died. Others merely live [in their own times], but I say that this [monarch] lives on after death as he had a good name among the weaker kings. For it was in his day that a united mob of Northerners—I mean Khazars and Basilk's—emerged through the Chora Gate, having as their leader and king a certain Vnasp Surhap. [Having come through the Gate] they crossed to this side of the Kura River. Now Vagharsh encountered them with a great mob [of his own] and with martial men, and he covered the face of the plain with the bodies of the [North Caucasian] mob. Then, pursuing [the survivors, Vagharsh] pushed them through the Chora pass. Once again the enemies assembled there and arranged [their] brigades. Even though Armenian braves expelled them, and made them fugitive, nonetheless, Vagharsh died at the hands of [their] skilled archers.

[Vagharsh's] son, Xosrov, then reigned in the third year of Artawan, king of the Persians. He immediately assembled the Armenian troops and crossed the great mountain, demanding vengeance for the death of his father. He expelled those mighty nations with sword and lance, taking hostage one in every hundred of their best. As a mark of his lordship, [Xosrov] established a monument with Greek writing so that it would be clear that he was obedient to the Romans [g200].

66.

Where this narration comes from.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 66.

Bardaisan of Edessa [A.D. 154–222] informs us about this. For he emerged as prominent among the historians in the days of Antoninus the Last. Earlier he had studied the sect of Valentinian, but later he denounced and opposed it. [Bardaisan] did not come to the truth, it is merely that after having separated from [Valentinian], [Bardaisan] created a sect of his own. Nonetheless, he did not falsify this history, and he was a powerful writer. He dared to write a letter to Antoninus and made many remarks against the sect of the Marcionites, and [against beliefs in] fate and the worship of idols existing in our land.

It was for this that [Bardaisan] had come here among us to see if he could school some of the pagan barbarians. But when they did not accept him, he went and entered the fortress of Ani. [There] he read the temple history which also included the deeds of kings. [Bardaisan] added whatever had transpired in his own time, and translated all this into the Assyrian language. From that [Aramaic/Syriac] account it later was [translated] into Greek. In this he narrates about the temple worship of Tigran the Last, king of the Armenians, [that] he honored the grave of his brother Maghan, the chief priest in Bagnats' hamlet, in the district of Bagrewand. [Tigran] made an altar on the grave [g201] so that all those passing by would enjoy [food] from the sacrifices and be accomodated as guests were [there] in hostels. Subsequently, Vagharsh established here, at the start of the new year, the beginning of the month of Nawasard, a national gathering [festival]. It is from this history [of Bardaisan] that we have taken and repeated to you [information] describing events from the reign as king of Artawazd until the monument of Xosrov.

67.

How Agat'angeghos narrated [events] in brief.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 67.

As we mentioned, after Vagharsh, his son Xosrov held the kingship. [Xosrov] was the father of the great Trdat. Regarding him and his clanmates, the skillful secretary of Trdat, [named] Agat'angeghos, has briefly narrated, providing a short account [including] the death of the [Arsacid] Persian king, Artawan, and the elimination of the lordship of the Parthians by Artashir, son of Sasan; the conquest of the Persians by him; the desire for vengeance of Xosrov, Trdat's father; and [his] plundering raids aimed at ruining the land

of the Persians and Assyrians. [Agat'angeghos] says after this that Xosrov sent to his native land in the area of the Kushans so that his clanmates would hasten to his aid and stand against Artashir. But they, he narrates, would not heed him, because they were of one mind and agreeable to [living] under the lordship of [the Sasanian] Artashir, more so than [living] under the lordship of [someone from] their own [Arsacid] clan and fraternity [g202]. [Consequently], Xosrov sought vengeance without them. Continuing with [the account, Agat'angeghos] says that for ten years in a row he continued in this manner to devastate the entire country, turning it to ruin. Then [Agat'angeghos] speaks about the arrival of Anak with treacherous [intent], charmed by a promise of Artashir's, according to which he said that "I will return to your control your revered and honored Pahlaw property/holdings *(sep'hakan)* and will glorify you with a crown." For this reason, Anak took the initiative to kill Xosrov.

Now even though Agat'angeghos thus briefly went over this [history], I am inclined to narrate the history of this time at length and in detail, presenting it from the beginning in a reliable account in full detail.

68.

About the royal clans from which the Parthian tribes arose.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 68.

Accounts in Scripture show us that Patriarch Abraham was the 21st leader from Adam. It was from [Abraham] that the nation of the Parthians came. For it says that after the death of Sarah, Abraham took as a wife Ketura. Emran and his brother were born from her. During his own lifetime, Abraham distanced these [brothers] from Isaac, sending them to the east. The nation of the Parthians was sired by these, and Arshak the Brave rebelled from the Macedonians and ruled over the country of the Kushans for 31 years. After him, his son Artashe's [ruled for] 26 years; followed by his son, Arshak, whom they styled "the Great." [It was he] who killed Antiochus [g203] and who established his brother Vagharshak as king of the Armenians, having him as his second [in command]. Then [Arshak the Great] went to Bahl and established his kingdom, reigning for 53 years. It is for this reason that his descendants received the named Pahlaw just as those of his brother, Vagharshak, [were named] Arsacids after their ancestor's name. Here are the Pahlawik kings: after Arshak the Great, his son, Arshakan came to the throne in the 12th year of Vagharsh, king of the Armenians and reigned for 30 years. Then [ruled] his [son] Arshanak for 31 years, followed by Arshe'z, for 20 years. Then [there ruled] Arshawir, for 46 years. As I mentioned above, [Arshawir] had three sons and one daughter who were called: the eldest Artashe's, the second, Kare'n, the third, Sure'n, while the daughter was named Koshm.

Now after the death of his father, Artashe's wanted to rule as king over his brothers via his [own] descendants. His brothers accepted this, not so much because of [Artashe's'] flattering words and promises, but because of his forceful subjection [of the recalcitrant]. Abgar established an oath and the provisions of a treaty between them [to this effect] that Artashe's and his descendants would reign; but should [the line of] his descendants end, [Artashe's'] brothers would succeed to the kingship in order of their seniority. When Artashe's had secured this [demand] from them, he gifted them with districts, and established clans named after each of them and placed [their rank] above all the [other] lordships and preserving the original name of [each] clan. Thus, they were styled as Karen Pahlaw, Sure'n Pahlaw, and the sister['s clan] as Aspahapet Pahlaw, because her husband was [commander-in-chief, Persian *aspabad*] over the troops. Now this arrangement lasted for many years, until their [Sasanian] lordship ended [g204].

Do not lambast me as someone doing superfluous labor. Do not say that we have again narrated what was already narrated. Rather, know that we have [intentionally] with enthusiasm retold [some information] so that readers will be well informed about the relatives of our Illuminator [Gregory].

69.

About the clan/tribe (ts'egh) of Artashe's, king of the Persians, to the end [of the Arsacid dynasty].

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 69.

Now from this point, let us pass through the number of kings of the clan of Artashe's, until the kingship was taken from them. After Arshawir, as we said, Artashe's reigned for 34 years; Darius, 30 years; Arshak, 19 years; Artashe's, 20 years; Peroz, 34 years; Vagharsh, 50 years; Artawan, 31 years. This last [king, Artawan,] was killed by Sasan's son, Artashir the Stahrats'i, who [thereby] ended the kingship of the Parthians [Arsacids], and taking from them the land of their inheritance. Many are the historians of this period from among the Persians and Assyrians, and also the Greeks, since from the start of the kingship of the Parthians to its termination, [the Parthians] had dealings with the Romans. Sometimes [the Parthians were] in submission [to the Romans]; sometimes, at war [with them]. [The historians] Palephatos, Porphyry, Philemon, and many others tell about such. We, however, will tell [of events] from the book of Barsuma, which Xor'ohbut brought [g205].

70.

About the fables of the Pahlawik'.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 70.

This Xor'ohbut had been a scribe of Shapuh, king of the Persians, and had fallen into the hands of the Greeks when [Roman emperor] Julian, called the Apostate, had gone to Ctesiphon with his troops. Now it happened that when [Julian] had died there [in A.D. 363], [Xor'ohbut] returned to the Greeks with Jovian's royal attendants. He confessed our [Christian] faith and was [re]named Eghiazar. Furthermore, having learned the Greek language, he wrote the history of the deeds of Shahpuh and Julian. Along with this, [Xor'ohbut] also translated the history of the preceding [rulers].

This was a book which belonged to his fellow-captive, Barsuma by name, called R'astohun. Learning from this we now will repeat from this book, leaving aside their delusional fables. For it would be pointless now to repeat the fables about P'apag's dream, and how there was an eruption of curling flame from Sasan, how the herd was surrounded, the moonlight, the predictions of the astrologers (who are Chaldeans, *k'awdeayk'*), and what happened afterwards. [We will not repeat legends about] Artashir's dissolute plan with murders, about the absurd speculations of the mages' daughter regarding the goat, and about everything else [g206]. [We will not describe legends] about how a goat nursed a baby under the shade/protection of an eagle, the prophecy of the raven, the protection of a magnificent lion with the service of a wolf, about the valor in single combat and about everything that can be considered allegorical. We will speak of only what is known for certain, a history which adheres to the truth.

71.

Xosrov's first invasion of Asorestan, by which he meant to aid Artawan.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 71.

Now after the killing of Artawan and the reigning as king of Sasan's son, Artashir, two tribes of the Pahlaws, named Aspahapet [Pahlaw] and Sure'n [Pahlaw], willingly consented that Sasan's son, Artashir, would rule over them—since they were jealous of the rule [over themselves] of a [member of a] branch of their own clan [who was named] Artashe's. Despite this, [Xosrov] retained intimacy with the fraternity of his clan in the House of Karen Pahlaw and [Xosrov and the Suren] resisted with warfare Artashir, son of Sasan. But [even] before this, [when] the king of the Armenians, Xosrov, had heard the commotion of confusion [over the revolt], he went to the aid of Artawan so that, at the least, he might be able to save only Artawan [g207]. However, upon invading Asorestan,

[Xosrov] received the sad tiding of Artawan's death, and [news] about the uniting of all the troops of the Persians and the lords—including his own clan, the Parthians, and Pahlaws with the exception of the Karen branch. Having sent messengers to the latter, he returned to our land in great sorrow and regret. Then [Xosrov] immediately sent to the emperor of the Romans, Phillip [A.D. 244-249], requesting assistance from him.

72.

Xosrov, receiving aid from Phillip, goes against Artashir in battle.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 72.

As there was the clamor of disturbance in Phillip's realm, he could not reduce [the fighting capacity of] the Roman brigades, by being a military support for Xosrov. But [Phillip] aided him by means of a letter, commanding that [Xosrov] be supported from all areas [of the Roman Empire]. Receiving such an order, they sent him assistance [including aid] from [an area extending] from Egypt and the desert to the shores of the Pontic [Black] Sea. Finding himself [in possession of] such a multitude, [Xosrov] advanced against Artashir. Giving battle, [Xosrov] put [Artashir] to flight, divesting him of Asorestan and other lands of royal residence.

Again, by means of messangers, [Xosrov] sent [word] to his clanal Parthians and the Pahlaw line and to all forces in the land of the Kushans that they should [g208] come to him to demand vengeance from Artashir. [Xosrov also said] that he would enthrone as king a worthy [individual] from among them so that the lordship should not pass from them. However, those aforementioned lines named Aspahapet and Surenean, did not agree and Xosrov returned to our land not so much rejoicing over the victory, as mourning over the dissolution of [unity among] his relatives. At that point there reached him some of the messengers that he had sent to the most venerable clan in the depths of the land [of Iran], to the one [ruling] in Bahl itself, bringing him the news that "your relation, Vehsachan, with his Karenean Pahlawi clan, did not submit to Artashir. Indeed, at your call they are coming to you."

73.

Again Xosrov attacks Artashir [this time] without help from the Romans.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 73.

Although Xosrov was greatly delighted at the news of the coming [to him] of his relations, the happiness did not last long, since the sad tidings soon arrived that Artashir himself, with the united military forces, had pursued them and killed the entire *ts'egh* ("tribal grouping") of the Karenean Pahlaws, exterminating [g209] all males from the young men down to the suckling babes. However, there was one [surviving] boy, whose intimate friend of his House, named Burz, spirited away, fleeing to the land of the Kushans, and bringing him to some of his powerful relatives. Now although Artashir expended much effort trying to get his hands on the child, due to the support of [the boy's] relatives, he was not able to accomplish this. Artashir unwillingly was [forced to] swear that the child would not be in danger [from him]. On this [occasion], the Persians composed myriad fables about him—how dumb beasts served the child. This [child] was Perozamat, ancestor of the great clan of the [Armenian] Kamsarakans, about whom we shall speak in the proper place.

However, at present, we [shall describe] what happened after the destruction of the Karenean Pahlaw line. Xosrov, king of the Armenians, was not slack in seeking vengeance [for the killings]. Now after Phillip's death and due to the confusion in the realm of the Romans—with one man after another reigning in a short space of time, emperors Decius, Gallus, and Valerianus—no one aided Xosrov. And so Xosrov, with his own troops and [troops] of his friends and associates and [troops] of the northern peoples, defeated Artashir, chasing him as far as the land of the Indians [g210].

74.

About the arrival of Anak and the begetting of Saint Gregory.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 74.

Now Artashir, who had fled from Xosrov as far as the land of the Indians and was in dire straits, made many promises to the lords. [He promised] that he would give diverse gifts to whomever helped him to recover from this [disaster] by some means—either by [administering] poison, or clandestine [murder by] stabbing with a sword. [Artashir] said: "This is especially true for you descendants of the Parthians: it would be simple to practice duplicity with him, feigning affection under the guise of [clan] relationship, [a claim] which he would trust." [Artashir] promised that he would return to those called Pahlaw their native House, the royal residential city, Bahl, and the entire land of the Kushans. He promised the form and splendor of kingship, half the Aryans and that [his deliverer] would be second [in command] in [the lands] under his own control. Now Anak, who was from the line of the Surenean Pahlaws, was charmed [by these offers], and agreed to kill Xosrov. Under the pretext of a break with Artashir, [Anak] fled from him; and, on the same pretext, the forces of the Persians chased after him, pursuing him as

though a fugitive through Assyria, right up to Korduk on the edge of the borders of Atrpatakan. Now when Xosrov the Great heard about this, he was in the district of the Ute'ians. Believing the arrival to be Kareneans, [Xosrov] sent a brigade to help [g211] Anak. When they encountered Anak, they sent him, at the king's order, to the district named Artaz in the [same] place in the plains where were revealed the relics of our blessed and great apostle, Thaddeus (T'ade').

And here I will relate a tale told by the marvellous old man: "From my ancestors I have the custom of [transmitting] memories of these stories, from father to son—like Olympiodorus—relating [tales] about Taro'n and the mountain called Sim. Now when Anak was dwelling on the plain of Artaz, it happened that he passed the night by the grave of the holy apostle, [which was located] below the far side of his tent. And it was in that spot, they say, that the impregnation of the mother of our holy and great Illuminator [Gregory] took place. As a result, [Gregory] received the grace of that same apostle from his place of repose, and filled out what was absent in his spiritual labors.

Two years had passed from the time of Anak's coming among the Armenians. It was on the third year that he killed Xosrov, who had reigned for 48 years. He himself and all his own people died [in reprisal]. But by the care of God, only one [of Anak's descendants, Gregory, was spared, he, who was] created or illuminated by God's providence and the grace of the Apostle in his mother's womb, giving him apostolic grace. As for other details of the story, Agat'angeghos will inform you about them [g212].

75.

About Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, and his History.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 75.

Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, was a marvellous scholar who, in his youth, had gone to Origen and was educated [by him]. [Firmilian] wrote many treatises, one of which is a history of the persecutions of the Church, which started under [emperors] Maximian [Maximinus, 235-238] and Decius and lasted through the years of Diocletian [285-305]. He has set out in this [work] also the deeds of [contemporary] kings. In this [book] he says that Peter, who was the 16th bishop of the Alexandrians, was martyred in the ninth year of the persecutions. He wrote about many martyrdoms in our land caused by Xosrov, just as after him [he wrote] of others [martyred] by others. However, since [Firmilian] did not narrate accurately and not in [good] style, and does not mention either names [of the martyrs] or the sites of their martyrdom, we did not consider it crucial to repeat [that information]. [Firmilian] also reports that Antoninus [died A.D. 217], son of

Severus fought with the king of the Persians, Vagharsh, in Mesopotamia and died between Edessa and Harran, and our Xosrov did not join either side [g213].

Now as regards what transpired from after Xosrov's death until the kingship of Trdat in the time of anarchy we consider that [Firmilian] narrated [events] accurately, and therefore we shall concisely repeat [his information] for you. As for [describing events] for the reign of Trdat and after him, we have not erred lazily or carelessly nor have we, with complacent errors, adapted the material. Rather, [we have followed] what comes from records of archival books of the Greeks. Following such examples, we also narrated for you truthfully everything we had thoroughly learned from the reports of wise men and experts of antiquity, lovers of literature.

76.

Artashir comes against us, and his victory over Emperor Tacitus.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 76.

The same man [Firmilian] says that after Xosrov had been killed by the sword, the lords of the Armenians, united, brought to their aid troops of the Greeks [then located] in Phrygia, to resist the Persians and to preserve the land. They immediately notified Emperor Valerian [A.D. 253-260]. However, since the Goths (Gundk') had crossed the Danube River and had enslaved many districts, and had laid waste the Cyclades islands, Valerian['s forces] did not arrive in time to protect our land. Moreover, [Valerian himself] did not live much longer. Claudius took the kingship from him and then Aurelianus [ruled], one replacing the next in quick succession. [And then,] ruling [only] for months, the brothers Quintus, Tacitus, and Florian. Consequently, Artashir boldly [g214] invaded us; and put the Greek troops to flight. [The Persians also] captured many parts of the land, and wrecked it. As a result, the Armenian lords with the Arsacid clan emigrated from this, going to the Greeks for refuge. One of these was Artawazd Mantakuni, who took Xosrov's son Trdat and got him to the emperor's court. Consequently, Tacitus was obliged to come against Artashir in the Pontic area while sending his brother, Florian, with another brigade to Cilicia. But Artashir caught up with Tacitus and put him to flight. [Tacitus] later was killed by his own [troops] in Pontian Chaniws, that is, in Xaghtik'. The same thing happened to his brother, Florian, in Tarsus 88 days later.

77.

Regarding the peace between the Persians and Greeks and Artashir's developing of

Armenia during the years of anarchy.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 77.

Probus [A.D. 276-282] ruled as king over the Greeks and, making peace with Artashir, divided our land using trenches to mark the boundaries. Artashir, having subdued the lordly clans, returned those who had emigrated and brought out of [their] fortresses [those who had taken refuge there], except for a certain lord named Otay of the Amatuni *tohm*, a son-in-law of the Slkuni clan, and nourisher *(snuts'ogh)* of Xosroviduxt, daughter [g215] of Xosrov, who had holed up in the fortress of Ani, as if hiding in the safety of [his] den.

Artashir nicely settled [matters] in the land of the Armenians, [re]establishing the former order. Moreover, [as for] the Arsacids who had been removed from [the right of wearing] the crown and from dwelling in Ayrarat, he [re]confirmed them in their same places with incomes and stipends. He encouraged the further worship of the gods, and the Ormazdean (Ormzdakan) fire which was on the altar at Bagawan, he ordered that it be kept burning [perpetually] without extinguishing. However, Artashir ordered broken up the statues erected by Vagharshak in Armawir, the images of his ancestors along with the Sun and Moon—which had been transferred from Armawir to Bagaran and again to Artashat. In writing, [Artashir] put the country under his taxation and fully established everything under his own name.

In addition, [Artashir] confirmed the borders of Artashe's, setting stones in the ground and changing their [descriptive] name to his own, Artashir-id. He treated our land as one of his own lands [ruled] with Persian officials for 26 years. After him, his son Shapuh (which means king's son), ruled for one year until the accession to the throne of Trdat [g216].

78.

Destruction of the Mandakuni clan by Artashir.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 78.

Artashir, however, had heard that a certain one of the Armenian lords, having taken one of the sons of [murdered king] Xosrov, saved him by fleeing, reaching the court of the [Roman] emperor. Then [Artashir], investigating who that person might be, discovered that [the child's savior] was Artawazd of the Mandakuni clan, and ordered that the entire clan be exterminated. For at the time of the emigration of Armenians from Artashir, they too [the Mandakunik'] moved along with the other lordly clans. When Artashir had brought them to submission, they also returned, and all died by the sword. However, a

maiden with a beautiful visage, who was one of Artawazd's sisters, was abducted by a certain Tachat of the Ashots' clan, who was of the descendants of Gushar the Haykid *(Haykazn).* Having saved her life by fleeing to the city of Caesarea, [Tachat] married her because of her beautiful appearance.

79.

Regarding Trdat's exploits during the years of anarchy among the Armenians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 79.

He [Firmilian] relates the exploits of Trday. First, in his youth, [Trdat] tamed a wild horse, being a skilled horseman and successful in using weapons, and with an appetite for military training [g217]. Moreover, in the boxing event—according to the oracle of the Peloponnesian temple of Pythia—[Trdat] surpassed Clitostratus of Rhodes who knew how to overthrow an opponent with a neck hold. Again, [Trdat outdid] Cerasos of Argos—for the latter pulled out the hoof of an ox, whereas [Trdat] with one hand held two wild bulls by the horns, tore them off, and broke their necks. Furthermore, wanting to drive [a chariot] in a horse race in the great circus, he was thrown to the ground by a skilled opponent. But he seized and stopped the chariot, amazing everyone. During the war between Probus and the Goths, there was a terrible famine, and since there were no supplies, the soldiers rose up against him and killed him. They also attacked all the other princes. But Trdat alone resisted them, not allowing anyone to enter the palace of Licinius, with whom Trdat was.

Then Carus reigned with his sons Carinus and Numerian. Mustering troops, he gave battle to the king of the Persians and defeated him, and then returned to Rome. As a result [of his defeat], Artashir secured the support of many peoples. Having the support of the desert Arabs [of Mesopotamia,] Tachkastan. [Artashir] again fought against the Roman troops on both sides of the Euphrates. Carus was killed in Rinon. Similarly, Carinus [g218] who had marched into the desert against Kor'nak was killed with his troops, while the survivors, including Trdat who had gone with Carinus, turned to flight. Now it happened that Trdat's horse had been wounded, and so [Trdat] did not hasten to go with the fugitives. Rather, he took his weapons and the horse's harness, and swam across the wide and deep Euphrates to his own forces, where Licinius was. In the same period, Numerian was killed in Thrace and Diocletian [A.D. 285-305] replaced him on the throne. Agat'angeghos will inform you about what deeds Trdat did in his day.

80.

A brief exposition of the upbringing and life of Gregory and his sons, from the letter of Bishop Artites [written] regarding the question of the hermit Mark of Yagr'ochan.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 80.

Now there was a certain man named Burdar among the Persians—not a small or insignificant man—who had quit those parts and come to the Cappadocia area where he took shelter in Caesarea. Having taken a wife—who was named Sop'i, and was the sister of a certain rich man *(metsatun)* named Euthalius, from among the believers—he left there with his wife to return to the country of the Persians. But he was pursued [g219] by Euthalius, who convinced him not to continue [his departure]. At this point the birth of our Illuminator occurred and Sop'i happened to become the child's wet-nurse. When disaster struck, Euthalius took his sister and her husband with the child and returned to the land of the Cappadocians. As I understand it, all this happened through God's foresight, which acted to show us the path to salvation. Otherwise, what hope or expectation did they have nourishing a Pahlawik child in the Roman empire, dedicating him to the Christian faith?

When the boy reached puberty, he was married to Mariam, daughter of a believer named Dawit'. After three years and the birth of two sons, they both, willingly, separated from one another. Mariam, along with the youngest child, entered a monastery for women, and she became a nun. This child, upon reaching puberty, followed a certain hermit named Nikomak'os (Nicomachus). But the elder child remained with *dayeak*s and later followed a secular life and married. But their father, Gregory, went to Trdat to repay his father's debt [g220], or as one must express it more accurately to take upon himself the task of apostleship and high priesthood in our land, along with martyrdom.

Truly, the sons of a marvellous man turned out to be more than amazing. For when [Gregory] returned with Trdat, he did not seek his sons, nor did they go to him. Granted, this could have been out of fear of persecution [at that time], but even during the period of their father's priesthood and glorification, they did not inflate with pride. Consequently, he did not tarry in Caesarea but instead quickly returned to the city of Sebastia and began collecting material for his teaching *(vardapetut'iwn)*. But even if he had spent many days in Caesarea, [his sons] did nothing which would have worried him, for they cared only for that which has no end and does not pass away. They did not strive for honors, but honors accompanied them wherever they went, as Agat'angeghos informs you.

81.

From where and how the Mamikonean clan arose.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 81.

When Sasan's son Artashir died, he left the kingdom of the Persians to his son, Shapuh. They say that it was during his time that the ancestors of the Mamikonean clan came among the Armenians from the northeast. They came from a noble and great land, [from a people] who are chief and foremost among the northern peoples. I speak of the Chenk'. There is the following tale about them [g221].

Toward the end of Artashir's life, there lived Arbok, a certain [king] called Chen-bakur in their language, which means "Honor of Heaven." He had two foster brothers (*dayeakordik'*, "milk-brothers") who were great lords, named Bghdox and Mamgon. When Bghdox slandered Mamgon, the king of the Chenk', Arbok, ordered that Mamgon should be killed. When Mamgon heard about this, he did not go to the king's summons. Rather, taking all his family and belongings, he fled and landed at [the court of] Artashir, king of the Persians. Using emissaries, Arbok demanded him. Since Artashir did not heed this [request for extradition], the king of the Chenk' was preparing a war against him. Just at that point Artashir died and [his son] Shapuh reigned.

Now although Shapuh did not hand over Mamgon to his lord, he did not let him remain in the country of the Aryans. Rather, he sent [Mamgon] with all his family and belongings into exile, to his officials in Armenia. Then [Shapuh] sent to the king of the Chenk', saying: "May it not be difficult for you that I was not able to deliver Mamgon into your hands. For my father had sworn [an oath] to him [for asylum] by the light of the sun. But so that you do not worry, I expelled him from my land to the edge of the world in the West, which for him is the equivalent of death. Let there be no war between us." Now since of all the inhabitants living on the face of the earth, the most peace-loving [g222] are said to be the nation of the Chenk', [their ruler] agreed to make peace. From this too, indeed, it is clear that the nation of the Chenk' love peace and life.

The land itself is wondrous, with an abundance of all kinds of fruit and adorned with beautiful plants, full of saffron, peacocks and many sorts of silk. It has untold numbers of gazelles and monsters, among them, the donkey-goat. [In China] they say that the food of the commoners is what is among us the most honored and food for the few, such as pheasants, swans, and the like. Furthermore, it is said that [so great are] the amount of the grandees' precious stones and pearls, that their number cannot be tallied. As for clothing, what among us are worn by the honored few, among them such clothes are worn by the common people. So much for the land of the Chenk'.

Now Mamgon, having come to our land unwillingly, encountered Trdat's [entourage] coming back [to Armenia]. [Mamgon] did not return with the troops of the Persians, rather, with great gifts went before [Trdat] with all his people and belongings. Trdat received him but did not take him along to the country of the Persians to fight. Instead, he

gave him a place for his people, stipends and food [allowances]. Furthermore, for many years [Trdat] moved them from place to place [g223].

82.

The exploits of Trdat during his reign and before he became a believer.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 82.

Since there is no accurate history without chronology, we therefore, through detailed investigation, found that Trdat's accession to the throne and his arrival here with a large army took place in the third year of the reign of Diocletian. When [Trdat] arrived at Caesarea, many of the lords came out to greet him. When he had come into our land, he found that Otay was raising his sister, Xosroviduxt and also very carefully had kept the [royal] treasury [intact] in a fortress. He was truly a patient, modest man who was also very wise, for although he did not know the truth about God, nonetheless he recognized the falseness of the idols. Likewise [Otay's] pupil [*san*, "foster-child"], a modest virgin, did not at all have an unguarded mouth, like other women.

Trdat established Otay in the [office of the] *hazarapetut'iwn* ["chancellorship"] of the Armenians, honoring him with thanks but even more so his milk-brother, Artawazd Mandakuni, as the cause of his salvation and of attaining the glory of his ancestors. For this reason, he entrusted to him [the headship of] command of the Armenian forces. For the same reason [Trdat] designated Tachat, his sister's husband [g224] as prince over the district of Ashots'. It was [Otay] who subsequently informed his father-in-law, Artawazd, who informed the king, first, that Gregory was Anak's son and later, about Gregory's sons, since [Otay] had become knowledgeable about them while living in the city of Caesarea.

As for Trdat, he quickly engaged in many battles, first in Armenia and then in Persia, gaining the victory with his own hand. On one occasion, [Trdat,] more successful than Elianan in ancient times, raised his spear over countless wounded men. Again, on another occasion, some skilled Persian tested the giants' ferocity and the strength of his armor, and then began to cover [Trdat's] horse with wounds, killing it with their arrowshots. [The horse] crashed to the ground, and the king fell [with it]. But [Trdat] rose and attached them on foot, throwing many of the enemy to the ground in return for what they had done to him. Then, grabbing one of their horses, he boldly mounted. Again, on another occasion, being on foot willingly, he dispersed a herd of elephants with his sword. Such heroic deeds did he perform while he remained in Persia and Asorestan; and then from there he attacked Ctesiphon.

83.

How Trdat married Ashxe'n; how Diocletian married Maximia; and how he came to the faith.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 83.

When Trdat came back to our land, he sent *aspet* Smbat, Bagarat's father, to bring him for a wife Asxadar's daughter, the maiden Ashxe'n. In height, the maiden was not a bit shorter than the king. And [Trdat] ordered that [g225] she be inscribed [in rank] as an Arsacid, be dressed in purple, and have a crown fastened to her, to marry the king. From her was born a son, Xosrov, who did not equal his parents' [tall] height.

In these same days there took place in Nicomedia the marriage of Diocletian's daughter, Maximina with Emperor Constans, son of Constantius, king of the Romans. He had not been born from Maximian's daughter, but from a prostitute, Helen. At the wedding, this Constantine became friendly with our king Trdat. When Constantius died after not many years, Diocletian sent as a successor [Constantius'] son, Constantine, whom he also had adopted.

The latter, before he ruled as king, while still a Caesar, having been defeated in battle, fell asleep in great sorrow. There appeared to him in his sleep a starry cross in the sky, having this written on it, "By this, conquer." Making an emblem out of this [sign of the Cross], he ordered that it be carried [as a standard] as they went forward. He won the battles. However, subsequently, beguiled by his wife, Maximina, Diocletian's daughter, he initiated persecutions of the Church. Many were martyred, and [Constantine] himself was struck by elephantine leprosy, which engulfed his entire body as a punishment for his insolence. The sooth-saying witches and the Marsikean doctors were unable to cure this. Consequently, [Constantine] sent to Trdat for him to send magicians from Persia and India to him. However, these did not [g226] bring him any relief. Then some priests at the instigation of demons, advised him to sacrifice a multitude of boys in a basin, to wash in the warm blood, and be healed. But, hearing the cries of the children and the wailing of their mothers, he felt pity and spared them, preferring their salvation to his own. Therefore, he received in return for this from God: in a vision he received the command of the Apostles to cleanse himself by washing in the life-giving [baptismal] font, through the mediation of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, who was on Mount Seraption, hiding from his persecution. [Constantine], being instructed, became a believer. Then God removed all the tyrants before him, as Agat'angeghos concisely informs you.

84.

The destruction of the Slkunik' by the Chinese Mamgon.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 84.

When Shapuh, king of the Persians, rested from warfare, and when Trdat had gone to Rome, to blessed Constantine, Shapuh, whose thoughts were not otherwise occupied, planned to commit evil upon our land. Having charmed all the northern peoples to go against the Armenians, he set a time for his own arrival from the other side, with the Aryans. Enchanted by his words, Sghuk, patriarch of the clan of the Slkunik', killed his own son-in-law, the aged O'tay, who [g227] was from the Amatunik' clan *(tohm)*, and had nourished Xosroviduxt, the king's sister. Very soon after this, great Trdat came from the West and, having heard all this [news] and realizing that Shapuh had not arrived at the appointment, [Trdat] advanced against the Northerners. Now the patriarch of the Slkuni clan holed up in a fortress which was named Oghakan, taking refuge with the residents of the mountain called Sim. Having defied the king, he distrubed the country and did not allow anyone to do any business near the mountain. King [Trdat] said to all the lordly *(naxarar)* houses of the Armenians: "To whomever brings me the patriarch of the Slkuni clan, I shall give eternal jurisdiction over the villages, estates *(zdastakerts)* and the entire principality of the clan of the Sulkunis." Mamgon, of the Chen nation, accepted this [offer].

Now when the king went against the Northerners via the Aghuan areas, Mamgon went with all his entourage to the Taron area, as though seeking refuge from the king. Having departed, he secretly sent men on foot to inform the patriarch of the Slkuni clan about the king's departure via the Aghuan areas. He said: "The danger is great for King Trdat and therefore he went via the Aghuan areas to war against all the mountaineers. Consequently, the time is now convenient for us to plan and do as we please. I am thinking to ally [g228] with you because of insults I have received from the king." The patriarch of the Slkuni clan, being extremely pleased by this, accepted him with a sworn oath. However, he did not let him enter the fortress until he could observe how closely [Mamgon] would adhere to the oaths and agreements. The aforementioned Mamgon in every way sought to display intimacy toward the rebel to convince him that he was indeed a devoted comrade. Then, finally, [the patriarch of the Slkunis] ordered that [Mamgon] freely be allowed to enter and exit the fortress.

After many [displays] of loyalty, one day [Mamgon] persuaded the patriarch of the Slkuni clan to leave the fortress to hunt deer. During the hunt, [Mamgon] shot an arrow into the middle of his back and the rebel fell to the ground dead. Then, going with his men to the door of the fortress, he took the citadel, tying up all the men inside. [Mamgon] also thought to eliminate the Slkuni clan and killed all of them, excepting two who fled as fugitives to the land of Tsop'k'. Then did Mamgon quidkly inform the king. Trdat was delighted with this and wrote an edict that [Mamgon] would rule over all that had been

promised, and designated him as lord in the rebel's place, naming [the clan] Mamigonean. However, [Trdat] ordered that the surviving Slkunis should not be harmed [g229].

85.

The exploits of Trdat in the Aghuan war, in which he cut in half the king of the Basilk'.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 85.

Now King Trdat with all the Armenian [forces] descended to the plain of the Gargarats'ik' to meet the brigades of the Northerners in battle. When the two sides joined battle, [Trdat], like a giant, cut in two the mob of enemies. I am unable to describe the swiftness of his hands which caused countless enemies to fall head over heels on the ground. Like fish shaken out of a full net by a skilled fisherman, they bounced on the surface of the ground. Seeing this, the king of the Basilk' approached the [Armenian] king. Removing from under his horse's armor a leather-wrapped lasso made of sinew, and forcefully throwing it from behind, he deftly caught [Trdat] on the left shoulder and right armpit—for he had raised his arm to strike someone with his sword. But [Trdat] was wearing chain mail armor which arrows could not penetrate. Now since [the king of the Basilk'] was unable to move the giant himself by hand, he threw the lasso around the horse's chest. But he did not even have a chance to whip the horse [g230] when the giant grabbed the lasso with his left hand and drew it to himself with a strong pull. With a well-aimed blow of a double-edged sword, [Trdat] cut the man in half and, at the same time, the horse's head and neck.

Now when all the troops saw their king, that powerful warrior, cut in two by such a powerful hand, they turned and fled. Trdat pursued and drove them as far as the land of the Huns. Trdat took hostages according to patrimonial custom and returned from there, even as his own troops had sustained not trivial losses, and many grandees had fallen, among whom was the *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) of all the Armenians, Artawazd Mandakuni. As a result of this, he united all the Northerners, assembling and calling up many troops with which he advanced to the land of the Persians, against Artashir's son, Shapuh. [Trdat] took four of his own people as generals: Mihran, leader *(ar'ajnord)* of the Iberians—trusted due to his Christian faith; *aspet* Bagarat; Manachir, patriarch of the R'shtunik'; and Vahan, patriarch of the Amadunik'. However, we shall now speak about the believing of Mihran and the land of the Iberians.

86.

Concerning the blessed Nune' [Nino], and how she became the cause of the salvation of the Iberians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 86.

There was a certain woman named Nune', one of saint Hr'ip'sime's companions who, on their dispersal from her, fled and reached Mtsxet'a, their premier city in the land of the Iberians. [Nune'], who practiced a strict asceticism, received the gift of healing [g231] with which she healed many diseased folk, principally the wife of Mihran, leader of the Iberians. For this reason, Mihran asked her, "Through what power do you work these wonders?" And he learned the teaching of the Gospel of Christ. Liking what he heard, [Mihran] related it to his lords along with praise. Then immediately news reached him of the wonders which had occurred among the Armenians, to the king and the lords and about the comrades of the blessed Nune'. Astounded by this [information] he conversed with the blessed Nune', from whom he was most accurately further informed in detail.

It happened in those days that Mihran went out to hunt. But he strayed in the difficult mountains because of the darkness which enveloped the air—but not his sight. So it is said [in the Bible] that "He summons the mist with His voice." [Job 38.34] and also "He darkens the day into night [Amos 5.8]. In this way was Mihran engulfed in darkness—which became for him an occasion [to experience] eternal light. In his fright, [Mihran] recalled what he had heard about Trdat: how he had set out to go hunting and torments from the Lord had descended upon him. [Mihran] considered that something similar would happen to him. Overcome with great fear, he prayerfully started to ask that the air would lighten and that he would return in peace, and promised to worship the god of Nune'. This was granted him, and he fulfilled his promise.

Now the blessed Nune' sought trustworthy men and sent them to saint Gregory [to learn] what he would command her to do going forward. For the Iberians had accepted the teaching of the Gospel enthusiastically. And [Nino] received the order to destroy the images, as he himself had done, and to erect [g232] the honorable sign of the cross until the day when the Lord gave them a leader. Immediately she destroyed the statue of Aramazd, the Thunderer, which stood outside the city on the far side of the mighty river, which flowed between them. [The residents] had the custom of worshipping [the statue] from their rooftops, each day at dawn, since it faced them. Now should people want to sacrifice, they would cross the river and sacrifice in front of the statue.

But the lords of the city rose up against her, saying: "But whom shall we worship in place of the idols?" They learned [that they should worship] the sign of Christ's cross. They did this and erected [the cross] on a lovely hill to the east of the city, also separated by a very small river. And the entire multitude worshipped it in the morning, similarly, from their rooftops. But when [people] went up the hill and saw that it was [merely] hewn wood, not a work of craftsmanship they, for the most part, despised it on the grounds that all their

forests were full of such [trees], they left it and departed. But benevolent God, seeing their stumbling, sent from heaven a pillar of cloud and filled the mountain with a sweet fragrance. And there was heard the sound of a host singing psalms most sweetly. There shined forth a light in the form of a cross, the same shape and size as the wooden one, above it, with twelve stars at the top. At this [miracle] everyone believed and worshipped it. After that, the powers of healing were effected by it [g233].

Now blessed Nune' arose and went from there to instruct other, additional districts of the Iberians with her pure tongue, travelling around without luxury or excess, a stranger to the world and everything [worldly] in it. To put it more accurately, [Nino was] crucified, receiving Life for teaching about [Christ's] death, witnessing the Word of God with her words, and by her enthusiasm it was as though she were crowned [with a halo of] blood. I will make bold to say that she had become a female apostle. Preaching, she went from Klarjetia along the Alanian and Caspain Gates, right up to the border of the Mask'ut', as Agat'angeghos will inform you. However, we shall turn from this [account] to the history of Trdat's attack on Persia.

87.

The defeat of Shapuh and [his] unwilling submission to Constantine the Great; Trdat's capture of Ecbatana, and the arrival of his relatives; and the discovery of the Wood of Salvation at that time.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 87.

Now it happened that Trdat did not dare to battle separately with Shapuh until the multitude of the Roman troops arrived. [This was because Trdat's] army had sustained blows and many of the lords had fallen. [The Romans] had attacked via Assyria, put Shapuh to flight, and looted the entire country. Then Trdat, with his own troops and the troops with him, began a year-long campaign in the northern areas of Persian rule [g234].

At this time there came to him his own genuine relative, Kamsar, the first son of Perozamat. This Perozamat is that boy who at the time of Artashir's destruction of the Karenean clan of the Pahlaws was taken and saved by Burz. When he had grown to be a young man, Artashir designated him in his father's rank [as commander] over the troops, [sent] to war against the wild tribes there, with the treacherous plan of throwing him into the hands of the barbarians. As it happened, [Kamsar] was a brave man and conducted the war marvellously. Moreover, once he had bested Vze"rk—who was named Xak'an [Qaqan/Khagan], the latter, defeated, gave his daughter to him as a wife. [Kamsar] also took other wives who were relatives of Artashir and then, having fathered many sons, he grew stronger and forcibly held those areas. Although he was honoroed by Artashir,

[Kamsar] no longer saw him. Instead, when Artashir died, [Kamsar] did not submit to Shapuh, his son. Triumphant in many battles, he was given a [poisonous] drug by Shapuh's intimates, and died.

In the same period there was someone else designated as Vze"rk [Great] Xak'an, who engaged in hostility toward [Perozmat's] son, Kamsar. Kamsar, finding it difficult to dwell in enmity between two powerful kings—especially since his own brothers were not unted with him—came with all his family and belongings to our king Trdat, while [Kamsar's] brothers went to Shapuh. This Kamsar, who had displayed feats of awesome [g235] bravery in his father's wars, on one occasion while rushing forward, was struck on the head by someone with an ax, [a blow] which took off part of his skull bone. Healed with drugs, he was called Kamsar [Small Head] due to the missing roundness of the crown of his head.

Trdat, after securing as his own the seven-walled Ecbatana, left [there] his second [in command] as overseer and returned to Armenia, bringing along Kamsar and all his people. As for Shapuh, he pleaded with the victorious Constantine for reconciliation and the establishment of eternal peace. The blessed Constantine accepted this. Subsequently, he sent his mother, Helen, to Jerusalem in search of the honorable cross. She found the Wood of Salvation [Jesus' cross] with five nails in it, through the agency of the Jew Judas, who later became bishop of Jerusalem.

88.

The imprisonment of Licinius; the transfer of the court from Rome; and the building of Constantinople.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 88.

When God had removed all tyrants from before Constantine, the latter greatly exalted Licinius. He gave [to Licinius] as a wife [Constantine's] own sister—but not of the same mother—and adorned him with the imperial purple and a diadem, making him second [in command] and king over the entire East. However, what divine scripture said about the Hebrews [g236]—regarding it impossible to transorm evil—also applied in this situation. For just as it is impossible for a leopard to change its spots or Ethiopians their blackness, so it is impossible for an impious man to change his disposition. For [Licinius] first turned out to be an apostate from the [Christian] faith; and secondly, a rebel in relation to his benefactor. [Licinius] stirred up persecutions against the Church and [was plotting] secret treachery against Constantine. He also increased the evils done to everyone under his sway, this lustful and disgusting old man with dyed hair. [Licinius] also brought great

tribulation on his own wife because of his lust for the blessed Glaphyra—for which [motivation] he killed the blessed Basilos, bishop of Amasia in Pontus.

Once the treachery had been revealed, and [Licinius] knew that Constantine would not remain silent, he gathered a force to offer armed resistance to him. Now since our king Trdat's affection for him had cooled, he began to view him truly as an enemy; for he knew that every impious person is hated by the righteous. When the victorious Constantine appeared, God delivered Licinius into his hands. However, [Constantine] spared [Licinius] as an old man and the husband of his sister, and had him taken to Gaul in iron fetters, and [put to work] in the mines, so that he would pray to God, before whom he had sinned, trusting to His mercy. Then [Constantine] along with his sons, in order to show that the kingdom of the Romans was one [state] [g237], celebrated the 20th anniversary [of his reign] in the city of Nicomedia. He reigned from the fourth year of the persecutions until the thirteenth year of the peace, which the world celebrates to this day.

[Emperor Constantine], not considering it necessary to return to Rome, crossed to Byzantion where he established his court—having been ordered to do so in a prophetic dream. He constructed there the most magnificent buildings, enlarging [the city] by five times. For none of the great kings had carried out such extensive undertakings in it, excepting very few buildings—such as what the world-conquering Alexander the Macedonian when he was arming himself there for the war against Darius. [Alexander] therefore built in his own memory [a structure] called the Strategion, for creating his military organization in it. Subsequently Severus, king of the Romans, rennovated this [building]. [Severus] himself built baths in the place of the column, which had as an inscription the mystical name of the sun, in the language of the Thracians, Xeuxippus, by which name the baths were called. He also built the theater for beast-fighting and for players [of other games] and the horse racing-course [hippodrome], though it was not completed. However, Constantine enlarged [the city] many times, decorated it in every possible way and named it "New Rome," but the world called it "Constantine's city." It is also said that he secretly removed from Rome the sculpture called the Palladium and put it in the Forum under the column which he himself had erected. To us, however, this is not credible. Let others [believe] what they like [g238].

89.

Concerning the heretic Arius and the council convened because of him in Nicaea; and about the wonders which appeared to Grigorios.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 89.

In that period there appeared Arius of Alexandria, who taught the very worst wickedness: that the Son was not equal to the Father, partaking neither of His nature nor essence, and was not born from the Father before eternity, but was something other—created and younger—which came into existence subsequently. This impious Arius received a fitting end, dying after falling into sewage. Because of him, the autocrat Constantine issued an order that a council of many bishops should be assembled in the city of Nicaea in Bithynia. And there assembled Victor and Vincent, presbyters from the city of Rome, with the subscription of the blessed Sylvester and the bishops of Alexandria—Alexander, of Antioch—Eustatius, of Jerusalem—Macarius, and of Constantinople—Alexander.

Then an edict arrived for our King Trdat from the autocrat Constantine, [saying] that he should bring the blessed Gregory along with him and come to the council. However, Trdat did not agree to this. For [Trdat] had heard that Shapuh had been allying with the king of the Indians and with the Eastern Khaqan and that [Shapuh's] commanders were Nerseh—who [later] ruled for nine years—and Ormizd—who also reigned for three years with triumphs. As he had doubts that perhaps [his own treaty] conditions might be broken according to the custom of pagans, he did not leave the land without his presence [g239]. Nor did the blessed Gregory agree to go to the council, so that he not receive additional honor because of his renown as a confessor, for they so called him with affection and great enthusiasm. However, they sent Aristake's in their place; providing him with [a written text of] the true confession of the faith, signed by both. [Aristake's] set out and reached Leontius the Great, finding him at the very hour when he was baptizing the father of Gregory the Theologian, [who was also] named Gregory. Now as [this] Gregory emerged from the water, a light shone around him which no one in the multitude saw, except for Leontius who baptized him, our Aristake's, Euthalius of Edessa, Jacob of Nisibis, and John, bishop of the Persians who travelled the same road to the council.

90.

The return of Aristake's from Nicaea, the conversion of his relatives, and the constructions at Gar'ni.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 90.

Aristake's, travelling with the great Leontius, arrived at the city of Nicaea where there were assembled 318 Fathers [of the Church] to destroy the Arians. [The latter] were cursed and rejected from communion of the Church. The autocrat similarly deported them to the mines. Then Aristake's returned with the authentic formulation and with 20 canonical chapters [g240] of the council. He came and encountered his father and the king in the city of Vagharshapat. The blessed Gregory was delighted and himself added a few chapters to the canons of the council, for better caring for his diocese.

In that period their relative, Kamsar, was baptized with his people by the great Gregory. The king, receiving him [as he emerged] from the water, gave him as inheritance the great estate *(dastakert)* of Artashe's, which now is called Drasxanakert, as well as the district of Shirak, as his relative and genuine intimate. However, [Kamsar] died not more than seven days after the baptism. Then King Trdat, to console Arshawir, who was the chief of Kamsar's sons, designated him as his parent's successor, created a clan *(azg)* derived from him and named after his father, and numbered him among the lords. Then [Trdat] added other grants—the city of Eruand and its district as far as the end of the great valley. [This] was done so that he banish from his thoughts the memory of his native land called Pahlaw, and unshakably adhere to the [Christian] faith. Arshawir, greatly loving the district, called it Arsharunik' after himself. Previously, it had been named Erasxadzor. Behold, now we have described the reasons for the arrival here of two clans, the Parthians and the Pahlawunik'.

In this period Trdat completed building the fortress of Gar'ni, which was made from hewn blocks of basalt, fastened with iron [clamps] filled with lead. In [the fortress] he made a shaded residence with towers and wonderful carvings [g241] in high relief for his sister, Xosroviduxt, and wrote a remembrance of himself in the Greek language.

As for the blessed Gregory, he returned to his same mountain and after that time until his death, he no longer showed himself to anyone.

91.

About the death of Gregory and Aristake's and why the mountain was called "Caves of Mane'."

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 91.

We have found that Gregory (Grigorios), our father and parent according to the Gospel, in the 17th year of the reign of Trdat, was then seated on the [ecclesiastical] throne of Apostle Thaddeus. After illuminating all of Armenia with the light of the knowledge of God, and having dispelled the darkness of idol-worship and filling all areas with bishops and *vardapet*s, [Gregory] preferred [the isolation] of mountains and deserted places, so that he could live in tranquility with his own thoughts, in order to speak with God without distractions. [Gregory] left his son, Aristake's, as his successor, and himself remained in the district of Daranaghik' on the mountain called the "Caves of Mane'."

But let us explain why it is called the "Caves of Mane'." There was a certain woman named Mani, who was one of the comrades of the blessed Hr'ip'simeans, like Nune' [g242] who was the woman *vardapet* to the Iberians. [Mani] did not hurry after those

[others] who had come to us, realising that all places are God's, she dwelled in these mountains in some caves of the rocks. For that reason, the mountain became known as the "Caves of Mane'." It was in this cave that the blessed Gregory also resided.

Now despite the fact that [Gregory] dwelled there, nonetheless, from time to time he appeared and circulated through the land, strengthening his students in the faith. However, once his son, Aristake's, had returned from the Council of Nicaea, thereafter Gregorios did not appear to anyone. Therefore, 30 years are reckoned [for Gregory's spiritual work] —from the start of his priesthood in the 17th year of Trdat's reign until the 46th year of the same—when he no longer appeared to anyone.

After [Gregory], Aristake's [was head of the Church] for 7 years, from the 47th year of Trdat to the 53rd year, when the martyrdom of Aristake's occurred. For, truly, he was a spiritual sword, as the saying goes. Therefore, he was regarded as an enemy by all the unjust and evil doers. It was for this reason that Archilaeus (Ark'eghayos), who had been designated overseer of what is called Fourth Armenia—after being reprimanded by him—waited for an opportune day and, encountering him on the road in the district of Tsop'k', killed [g243] him with a sword, and then went as a fugitive himself to the Cilician Taurus. Then [Aristake's'] students took the body of the blessed one and brought it to the district of Ekegheats', burying him in his hamlet of T'il. His senior brother, Vrt'ane's, succeeded him on the [ecclesiastical] throne, from the 54th year of Trdat on.

The blessed Gregory, after remaining in the Cave of Mani for many years without appearing [in public], died and was transferred to the ranks of angels. Shepherds, finding him dead, buried him in the same place, not knowing who he was. Indeed, it was fitting that [shepherds] who had been present at the birth of Our Savior would also be attendants at the funeral of His student. Now it came about that [Gregory's remains], perhaps by Divine Providence, stayed concealed for many years—as had [the body of] Moses in ancient times—so as not to become the object of worship of barbarian people, not [yet] firm in the faith. Now when the faith had become [more] firmly established in these areas, after a long period, the remains of the blessed Gregory were revealed to a certain ascetic named Gar'nik, who brought them to the village of T'ordan and buried them there.

[Gregory], as everyone knows, was from the district of Bahl in the land of Parthia, [descended] through his father, Anak, from the Surenian clan of the line of the royal Arsacids. On the eastern parts of our land, [Gregory] arose, like a true dawn, a spiritual sun of knowledge and divine ray [g244], a deliverance from the deep evil of idol-whorship. [Gregory] became [for us] the cause of blessing and spiritual creation, a truly divine palm tree planted in the house of the Lord and flourishing in the courts of our God. And thus, having increased the [believing] peoples, [Gregory] gathered us to an old age of spiritual wealth, to glorify and praise God.

92.

Regarding the funeral of King Trdat, about which a lamentable complaint.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 92.

When discussing [King Trdat], we must use the most exalted words, since he was a blessed and great man, a second hero [with Gregory] and spiritual overseer of our illumination, the most truly king of all made kings by Christ. [King Trdat] also was the coworker and equal in asceticisms of our first leader and patriarch of our salvation. The Holy Spirit was pleased to give seignority to my enlightener only through the lot of confession, and, I would add, of apostleship. Otherwise, however, [Trdat and Gregory] were equal in words and deeds. I would even say that the king had an advantage here, for the contemplation of God and a harsh way of life were equally characteristic of both of them, and the ability to conquer with a persuasive or forceful word was bestowed on the king to a greater extent, for his actions never departed from the faith [g245]. Therefore, I will also call him the pioneer of the path and the second father of our enlightenment. But since the time has come to turn from praise to narration, and especially since this section is presented according to the reports of other historians and was not composed especially by ourselves, let us pass to the order of events as they concern him.

After believing in Christ, he [Trdat], gleaming with all virtue, increasingly saw to deeds and words concerning [serving the cause of] Christ, frightening and convincing the grandee *naxarar*s, and with them the whole host of the common folk truly to be Christ's [followers] so that the deeds of all might testify to the faith. But now I want to speak about hard-heartedness and arrogance of our people, from the beginning to the present day. Enemies to the good, strangers to the truth and having arrogant and self-willed natures, they opposed the will of the king regarding the Christian faith, instead following the will of women and concubines. The king, unable to forgive this [behavior] threw off his earthly crown and went in pursuit of the heavenly one. He quickly reached the place of the holy hermit of Christ [Gregory], staying in a mountain cave.

Here I am ashamed to reveal the truth, especially the lawlessness and impiety of our people and their deeds worthy of great lamentation [g246] and tears. For [the lords] sent after him, calling him [to return] and to rule the kingdom as he chose. Yet, when the blessed one did not believe them, they gave him a drink [containing poison]—as in antiquity the Athenians had given Socrates hemlock; or in our [Christian era] when the enraged Hebrews gave a drink mixed with gall to our God. In so doing, they extinguished the shining ray of piety for themselves.

Therefore I, mourning my own, will speak as Paul did for his own and for the enemies of the Cross of Christ. However, I will speak not using my own words, but [words] from the

Holy Spirit: O, crooked and bitter people which has not corrected its heart and has not come to believe in God in its soul. O, you descendants of Aram—how long will you be hard-hearted, why have you fallen in love with vanity and godlessness? Do you not realize that the Lord has exalted his saint, and that the Lord will not hear your pleas to Him? For you have sinned in anger and you have not repented in your beds. For you offer unlawful sacrifices and you despise those who trust in God. Therefore you will encounter a trap that you do not recognize and you will fall into this same trap, and the animal that you were hunting will seize you. But [the Believer's] soul will rejoice in the Lord and in their own salvation and they will say with their entire being: "Lord, who is like You?"

Now because things truly are this way, let us be consoled in the dangers which face us, too, since as Christ says "Since they do this to the green tree, what will they do to the dried-up one?" If such is the case with the saints of God, and those [like Trdat] who humbled themselves [by descending] from the throne for the sake of [following] God, then is it worth it for us, whose lot is oppression and poverty, to complain to God about the disasters you [lords] have caused? Nonetheless, I will say it. Which of you provided us with food, or the consolation of *vardapet*s (teachers), with words of conviction and encouragement, with porters for our journey, with rest on our return, preparing for us a home or shelter? I will leave out the other [evils], for you did not curb [your] evil tongues and ignorance—[which you] flavored with vanity and crazed words. Instead, you gave your stupidity—you, the haters of teaching—as fuel [for the fire] which then burned more [strongly] than the furnace of Babylon [g248].

Not translated: *grabar* page 249.

...Let my words be brought to an end here as though [I am] wearied by addressing myself to the ears of dead people. But my narration about the blessed Trdat is accurate. For, indeed, they gave him to drink the drug of death and we were deprived of the rays of light of his grace, he who reigned for 56 years.

End of the Second Book about the Development of Greater Armenia [g250].

Book Three

Conclusion of [the History of] Our Fatherland

1.

[*Introduction*]

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 1.

[We have tried to be accurate despite some obstacles, such as the fact that] there was no [existing] work on the antiquities of our land, and because of the shortness of time, we cannot go through all [the writings] of the Greeks. Moreover, [another handicap was the fact that] the works of Diodorus [Siculus] are not at hand, which we might look at to narrate everything without forgetting anything that is important or significant and worthy of being recorded in our composition. However, as far as our diligence and memory allowed, we have reliably told about very early and remote times, beginning with Alexander the Great and continuing right up to the death of Saint Trdat. Therefore you will not shame and scold us, for, behold, now I will relate to you without errors, everything that has happened in our own time or a little earlier, setting out in Book Three what transpired after Saint Trdat and up to the removal of the Arsacid clan from the kingdom and the sons of Saint Gregory from the high priesthood [g257]. I will present this history in a language accessible to all, so that people will take up reading the history of our fatherland as often and tirelessly as possible, attracted not by the eloquence of our words, but by the truthfulness of our narrative.

2.

What happened to the great Vrt'ane's after the death of Trdat, and events regarding three lordships.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 2.

At the time of Trdat's death, the great priest Vrt'ane's chanced to be at the martyrium of the blessed John [the Baptist] which had been built by his father [Gregory] in Taro'n. The inhabitants of the mountain there, who had devised a plot at the instigation of the

*naxarar*s (lords), wanted to kill him. But they were bound by an ungraspable hand—as happened in ancient times to Elisha, or as the Jews were struck in the time of Christ Himself our God. [As for Vrt'ane's] he passed unharmed, going to the district of Ekegheats', to the hamlet of T'il where the resting place of his brother, Aristake's, was located. [Vrt'ane's] mourned over this land of the Armenians where the lords, left without a ruler, began to destroy each other. Thus, three clans were completely exterminated by each other: those called Bznunakan,Manawazean, and Orduni [g258].

3.

The death of Saint Grigoris at the hands of the barbarians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 3.

The blessed Trdat, with great firmness, behaved zealously for maintaining the faith and [Christian] behavior, especially regarding those who dwelled in the remote parts of his kingdom. Therefore, officials from the northeastern regions came to him [people who were] supervisors of a distant city called Paytakaran, and they said to the king: "If you want to rule over those areas according to this [Christian] faith, then send them a bishop from the line of Saint Gregory—as [the people] truly desire it. Moreover, we know for certain that by reason of Gregory's famous name, they will look favorably upon his descendant and do everything according to his command." The blessed Trdat, consenting to this, gave them for a bishop the lad Grigoris, who was the senior son of Vrt'ane's. Although [Trdat] had doubts that this might be non-canonical due to [Grigoris'] young age, seeing the nobility of his spirit and remembering that Solomon had become king of Israel at twelve years of age, [Trdat] sent [Grigoris] with great confidence along with a certain Sanatruk, from his own Arsacid clan.

Having gone there, [Grigoris] was a model of goodness, displaying his patrimonial virtue. However, in celebacy he was greater than his forefathers, and he was equal to the king in admonishing. Now it happened that news arrived about the death of Trdat—in which plot were involved his [relation] Sanatruk and some others from among the ever-false men of the Aghuans—and they killed the blessed [Grigoris], trampling [g259] him with [their] horses. The barbarians killed him in the plain of Vatnean, near the Caspian Sea. His deacons, having taken his body to lesser Siwnik', buried it in the hamlet of Amaras. As for Sanatruk, he put a crown on his head and held the city of P'aytakaran, planning to rule over the entirety of the Armenians with the power of foreign peoples.

4.

The withdrawal of the bdeashx Bakur from the alliance of the Armenians, and the plan of the naxarars to enthrone Xosrov.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 4.

In Scripture we find narrated the history of the Hebrew people according to which, after [the period of] the Judges, in a time of anarchy and unrest when there was no king, every man went along according to what pleased him. We saw the same thing in our land—for after Saint Trdat's death, the great prince Bakur, called the *bdeashx* of Aghdznik'—seeing how Sanatruk had become [a] king in Paytakaran, thought to do the same himself. He wanted to be independent, though perhaps not to rule as king, since he was not an Arsacid. Having split away from the alliance of the Armenians, he extended his hand to the king of the Persians, Ormizd [probably Shapuh II (309-379)]. Therefore, the Armenian lords, having reflected on this and coming to their senses, assembled and went to the great Vrt'ane's. They also sent two of the honorable princes—Mar, prince of Tsop'k' and Gag, prince of Hashteank'—who went to the capital city [in Byzantium] to Emperor Constantius, son of Constantine, with gifts and a letter with the following contents [g260]:

5.

A copy of the Armenians' letter.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 5.

"Archbishop Vrt'ane's, the bishops with him, and all the lords of Greater Armenia [send] greetings to our lord, the emperor Caesar Constantius.

Remember the sworn oath made by your father, Constantine, with our King Trdat, and do not give this land of ours over to the godless Persians. Rather, help us with troops to make Trdat's son, Xosrov, king. For God caused you to rule not only over Europe, but over all of Asia Minor *[Mijerkreays*, "Middle Lands," "Asia Minor"]. Furthermore, fear of your power has gone as far as the ends of the earth. More than ever, we want you to rule over more [territory]. Be well."

Agreeing to this, Constantius sent the steward of his palace, Antiochus, with a large force, along with purple garments, a crown, and a letter with the following contents:

The Letter of Contantius

"Emperor Augustus Caesar Constantius [sends] greetings, to Vrt'ane's the Great, and to all your countrymen.

I have sent you an auxiliary force and an order to enthrone as your king Xosrov, son of your King Trdat. This is so that you, having established good order for yourselves, may serve us single-mindedly. Forewell [g261]."

6.

The arrival of Antiochus, and his deeds.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 6.

When Antiochus arrived, he enthroned Xosrov and appointed to the same military authority the four [individuals] whom Trdat had designated during his lifetime, following the death of his *dayeak* ("tutor," "guardian"), Artawazd Mantakuni, who had been the sole *sparapet* and general of all the Armenians. First was *aspet* Bagarat, general of the western brigade; second was Mihran, leader of the Iberians and *bdeashx* of Gugark', *sparapet* of the northern troops; third was Vahan, patriarch of the Amatunik', as general of the eastern brigade; fourth was Manachihr, patriarch of the R'shtunik', *sparapet* of the southern troops. [Antiochus], having divided up [the military command] in this way, gave each [of the four] his own forces. He sent Manachihr with the southern troops and the Cilician forces through the Mesopotamian and Atrpatakan areas; and he sent Vahan, patriarch of the Amatunik' with the eastern troops and the troops of Galatia toward Atrpatakan for protection from the king of the Persians.

[Antiochus] himself left behind King Xosrov—since he was small of person, weak boned, and not at all like a military figure—and [instead], took with him Mihran and Bagarat with their troops [g262], and together with all the Greek [forces], advanced against Sanatruk. As for [Sanatruk], having filled up the city of P'aytakaran with Persian troops, he hurried to King Shapuh with the Aghwan *naxarar*s. Now when Antiochus saw that they did not agree to submit peacefully, he ordered that the power of the rebels should be undermined through plundering. Then, having collected the tax, he went to the emperor.

7.

The crime of Manachihr against Jacob the Great, and his death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 7.

Manachihr, having passed through Assyria with the southern Armenian brigade and the Cilician troops, after fighting a battle with Bakur the *bdeashx*, killed him and chased out his troops and the auxiliary Persian [troops]. Furthermore, [Manachihr] arrested Bakur's

son, Heshay, sending him to Xosrov in iron fetters; and he mercilessly subjected to the sword the districts of [Bakur's] principality—[killing] not only the warriors, but even the common peasants. [Manachihr] took many captives from the Nisibis area, among whom were eight deacons of the great Bishop Jacob. Jacob went after them to persuade Manachihr to release the common captives, since they had done nothing blameworthy. But he was unable to get the agreement of Manachihr, who cited the king as the reason [g263].

When Jacob appealed to the king, Manachihr became even more wrathful and, encouraged by people in the district, ordered that [Jacob's] eight deacons, who were in bonds, be thrown into the sea. When the great Jacob heard about this, he returned to his own place, full of anger, like Moses [returning] from Pharaoh. Then, ascending a mountain from which the entire district was visible, he cursed Manachihr and his district. Nor were the judgements of God slow to overtake him. Like Herod, Manachihr perished from various ailments. The fertility of the irrigated district [declined, and the district] turned into a salt marsh—the sky above them became like copper, according to Scripture, and the sea [Lake Van], contrary to its nature, [rose and[covered the boundaries of the fields. When Vrt'ane's the Great and King Xosrov heard about this, enraged, they ordered that the captives be released, and that [the evil-doers] should seek absolution from that same man [Jacob] to turn away the wrath of the Lord. [However], it was after Jacob had departed this world that Manachihr's son and heir—through goodly repentance, copious tears, and lamentations—at his [Jacob's] intercession, achieved healing for the district.

8.

Regarding the reign of Xosrov the Less, the transfer of the court, and the planting of the forest.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 8.

In the second year of Ormizd, king of the Persians, and in the eighth year of the autocracy of Constantius, and with the latter's help [g264], Xosrov was enthroned. [Xosrov], unlike his father, displayed no signs of bravery, nor did he take any measures regarding the revolt of the regions after they had suffered at the hands of the Greek troops. Having left the Persian king to act at his own discretion, he made peace with him, considering it sufficient to rule over the remaining territories and not having any noble designs. Although he was small of body, he was not as short as Alexander the Great, who, although only three cubits high, did not lose his spirit. [Xosrov], unconcerned with bravery or [leaving] a good memory of himself, occupied himself with pleasure, hunting birds and other game. For this purpose, he planted a forest on the banks of the Azat River, which bears his name to the present day.

He also transferred the court to a hillock above the forest, constructing shaded mansions there. In the Persian language, [the site] is called *Duin*, which means "hill." In that period it happened that the sun was in Ares, and there were hot, pestilential winds accompanied by a stench. Those residing in Artashat were unable to bear it, and they willingly agreed to move [g265].

9.

About the invasion among us of the Northern people, during his [Xosrov's] time and about Vahan Amatuni's exploits there.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 9.

In [Xosrov's] day, the inhabitants of the northern Caucasus—being aware of his cowardice and laziness, and, especially, having succumbed to the incitements of Sanatruk (carried out by secret orders of the Persian king, Shapuh)—made an incursion into our land with a great mob of about 20,000. Now the eastern and western forces of the Armenians encountered them, having for military commanders Bagarat the *aspet*, and Vahan, patriarch of the Amatunik'. For, at the time, the southern brigades were with King Xosrov in the land of Tsop'k'. Mihran had been killed and our northern brigades had been defeated and thrown back by the enemies. [The latter] having reached the gates of Vagharshapat, besieged it. But then our eastern and western forces suddenly fell upon them, pushing them back from there to the rocks of Oshakan, giving them no time to shoot arrows, according to their usual custom. The valiant horsemen, quickening their fast pace, pursued them vigorously into a difficult area full of rocks and boulders [g266].

Finally, and not willingly, the enemies arranged their [fighting] fronts. The military head of the spearmen was a certain fearsome giant, fully armed and completely covered in thick felt, fighting in the midst of the warriors. The Armenian braves, keeping an eye on him and attacking, were not able to harm him in any way. This was because the felt turned aside the blows of the spears. It was then that Vahan Amatuni, looking toward the cathedral church, said: "God, help me, You Who guided the stone of David's sling to the forehead of the insolent Goliath. Direct my spear also to the eye of this warrior." Nor did [Vahan] fail in his request. He struck the awesome giant over the croup of [his] horse and brought him down. This incident prompted the enemy to flee, but the victory strengthened the Armenian brigade. From here, Bagarat returned to the land of Tsop'k' and was a steady witness [who spoke] without envy before the king about Vahan's feats of bravery and virtuous conduct. For this, the king gifted to him Oshakan, the site of the battle, where he selflessly performed feats of valor. In place of Mihran, [King Xosrov] designated Garjoyl Maghxaz, patriarch of the Xor'xor'unik', as commander over the troops.

10.

The death of Xosrov and the warfare between the Armenians and the Persians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 10.

After this, Xosrov—when he became aware that the Persian king, Shapuh, was helping his enemies—broke the peace he had with him and [g267] withheld the special tax from him, giving it [instead] to the emperor; and he drew Greek forces to resist the king of the Persians. However, he did not live much longer and then died, having reigned for nine years. Raising him up, they took and buried him in Ani, by his fathers. Then the great Vrt'ane's, having assembled all the lords of the Armenians, with the troops and chiefs of the troops, entrusted [governance of] the land to Arshawir Kamsarakan, as the principal and exceedingly honorable [man] after the king. Then [Vrt'ane's], taking Xosrov's son, Tiran, went to the emperor for him to designate [Tiran] as king of the Armenians in place of his father.

Meanwhile, as soon as the Persian king, Shapuh, heard about Xosrov's death and that Tiran, his son, had gone to the emperor, [Shapuh] assembled many troops. He entrusted them to his brother, Nerseh and, planning to make him king of the Armenians, sent him to our land—which he regarded as without a leader. [The Persian troops] were met by brave Arshawir Kamsarakan with all the troops of the Armenians, doing battle in the plain named Mr'ugh. Although many of the grandee *naxarar*s fell in the battle, nonetheless, the victorious Armenian forces put the Persian troops to flight and kept our land [secure] until the return of Tiran [g268].

11.

About the enthronement of Tiran, the departure from this world of Vrt'ane's the Great and the succession of the blessed Yusik to the [kat'oghikosal] throne.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 11.

In the 17th year of his reign, Augustus Constantius, son of Constantine, enthroned Xosrov's son, Tiran, and sent him to Armenia with Vrt'ane's the Great. When [Tiran] arrived, he took control of our land in peace, making a treaty rather than warfare with the Persians. [Tiran], who paid taxes to the Greeks but also a special [tax] to the Persians, remained in tranquility like his father, though he did not display any of his valor. Nor did he follow his patrimonial virtue. Instead, he secretly weakened all pious [behavior],

though he did not dare openly to revere vice, because of [the presence of] Vrt'ane's the Great.

Vrt'ane's the Great, having served 15 years in the episcopacy, was translated from this world in the third year of Tiran['s reign]. By his own order, he was taken and buried in T'ordan, seeing with a prophet's eye that after much time his father's remains would be laid to rest in the same place. [Vrt'ane's'] son, Yusik, succeeded him on the [ecclesiastical] throne in the fourth year of Tiran['s reign]. [Yusik] zealously followed the virtuous [behavior] of his fathers [g269].

12.

Shapuh's war against Constantius.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 12.

Shapuh [A.D. 309-379], son of Hormizd, established even more friendship with our King Tiran, to the point that by providing him with aid and relief, [Shapuh] delivered him from the invasion of the Northern peoples who, having united, passed through the Chora Gates and had settled in the borders of Aghuania for four years. Shapuh also conquered many other kings and brought many barbarian peoples into alliance. Then he attacked Asia Minor and Palestine. As for Constantius, after making Julian a *caesar*, he armed against the Persians. The battle commenced and both sides were defeated—for many fell on both sides and neither side turned and fled—until they came to an agreement and made peace for a few years. When Constantius returned from Persia, he died after a long illness in the city of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, after reigning for 23 years. In these days a luminous cross appeared to the blessed Cyril.

13.

How Tiran went before Julian and gave hostages.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 13.

In this period the impious Julian reigned over the Greeks. He apostasized God, worshipped the idols, and also raised persecutions and [g270] agitation against the Church, and in many ways tried to extinguish the Christian faith. However, he did not forcibly induce belief, but through cunning tricks tried to obstruct the worship of Christ and have the demons worshipped. Now when [the consciousness of] justice prompted him against the Persians, [he went against them] crossing through Cilicia and arriving in

Mesopotamia. Meanwhile, the Persian borderguard troops had cut the cords of [the] pontoon bridge over the Euphrates and were guarding the crossing. Tiran, our king, descended and went before Julian and then [Tiran] applied himself against the Persian troops and put them to flight. Then, providing assistance, he helped across [the Euphrates River] the impious [Julian] with a multitude of cavalry, for which he was greatly exalted by him.

[Tiran] requested that [Julian] not take him along to Persia, raising as a pretext that he was [then] unable to ride a horse. Julian accepted this [explanation] and requested [from Tiran] troops and hostages. In [complying with] this, Tiran kept back his second son, Arshak, giving [Julian] his third son, Trdat, along with [the latter's] wife and sons, as well as his grandson, Tirit', who was the son of his deceased senior son, Artashe's. Julian took them and immediately sent them to Byzantion. [Julian] also released Tiran to return to his land. He gave him, painted on boards, his own image [portrayed] with some demons. And he commanded that it should be erected on the east side of the church [g271], saying that all who were tributary to the Roman Empire did the same. Tiran agreed and brought it back, not considering that, through trickery, they would also be worshipping the images of demons.

14.

The martyrdom of Saint Yusik and Daniel.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 14.

When Tiran arrived in the district of Tsop'k', he wanted to set up the picture in his royal church. But the blessed Yusik snatched it from the king's hands, threw it to the ground, and trampled it to bits, warning the king about the trickery involved in the matter. However, Tiran would in no way pay heed to this, since he feared Julian and thought that he himself would be put to death as one who trampled on the royal image. [Tiran] was even more inflamed by the anger that he felt towards Saint Yusik, who constantly reproached him for his misdeeds. And so [Tiran] ordered him to be beaten with cudgels for a long while, until he breathed his last from the beating.

After his death, and after Tiran was cursed by the embittered old priest Daniel, who had been a student and disciple of Saint Gregory, [Tiran] ordered that he should be strangled. Then his students took the body and buried it in his retreat, called "the garden of ash trees," *Hats'eats' draxt*. As for the body of Saint Yusik, they took and buried it near his father in the village of T'ordan. [Daniel] was in the episcopate for six years [g272].

15.

How Zo'ray took the Armenian troops, turned from Julian, and was killed with his clan.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 15.

News of the killing of the blessed Yusik and the murmuring of all the lords reached Zo'ray, patriarch of the R'shtunik' clan, who was *sparapet* of the southern brigade of the Armenians in place of Manachihr and who, at T'iran's order, had accompanied Julian with troops. When he heard such reports, he said to his troops: "Let us not honor such a man who puts a stumbling block before the worship of Christ and kills his saints. Let us not accompany this impious king." Getting his troops to agree, he went and fortified himself at Tmorik' until he could see what the other *naxarar*s would do. But Julian's messengers arrived before him bringing a letter to Tiran, with this import:

Julian's Letter to Tiran

> The autocrat Julian —descended from Inak, son of Aramazd, and destined for immortality—greets our agent Tiran.
>
> The troops which you sent to us have been taken by their military commander and left. Now even though we had enough from our innumerable brigades to pursue and halt them, we let them go for two reasons. First, so that [g273] the Persian not say of us that he led the troops by force rather than willingly. Second, to test your loyalty. Now, if it was not your will that he did that, then put him to death with his clan, not leaving a descendant. Otherwise, I swear by Ares, who gave us our kingdom, and by Athena, who gives us victory, that upon our return, with our invincible strength we shall destroy you and your land."

When Tiran saw this he was horrified and sent [to Zo'ray an official] called the *mardpet* Hayr, and with an oath summoned Z'oray to his presence. But when [Zoray's] troops saw that all the *naxarar*s were silent, according to the impatience of our people, they dispersed, each to his own home. Zo'ray, left alone, went to the king, but not willingly. The king seized Zo'ray, taking also their fortress of Aght'amar, and caused all [from that clan] to perish. However, there was a lad who was the son of Mehendak, his brother, whom his *dayeak*s ("tutors," "guardians") spirited away and saved. The king designated in his place Saghamut', lord of Antsit.

16.

About the death of Yusik's sons and the successor of P'ar'nerseh to the [patriarchal] throne.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 16.

The lords of the Armenians requested of Tiran that a worthy man be designated to the episcopacy to replace Yusik. [This was] because his sons [g274] had not inherited [his] praiseworthy behavior and were unworthy of the Apostolic throne. Furthermore, death came upon [Yusik's sons] in those days, [death] which merited an attitude of great awe and fright in those hearing about it—since in the same place both of them were hit by lightning. [The sons] were named Pap and At'anagene's. They left no mature sons suitable for it, but only a lad, At'anagene's' son, known as Nerse's. He was being educated in Caesarea, and at that time had gone to Byzantium to take for a wife the daughter of a great prince, Apion. Now since there was no man [available] from the clan of Gregory, they elected a certain P'ar'nerseh from Ashtishat in Taro'n, designating him chief priest in the 12th year of Tiran. [P'ar'nerseh] occupied the [ecclesiastical] throne for four years.

17.

How Tiran was tricked by Shapuh when he went at the latter's summons, and how he was blinded by him.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 17.

After all this, the impious Julian perished in Persia from a wound to his intestines, as was fitting [retribution for] his plans. The troops turned back, having for their king Jovian, who died on the road and did not reach Byzantium. The Persian king, Shapuh, went in pursuit. He deceitfully summoned Tiran, writing a letter with this content [g275]:

The Letter of Shapuh to Tiran

> "Shapuh, king of kings, valiant one of the Mazdaeans, who sits on the same throne with the sun, remembers with kindness [our] beloved brother, Tiran, king of the Armenians, and sends many greetings.
>
> We have accurately established that you have kept solid our friendship, not accompanying the emperor to the land of the Persians. Rather, the brigade which he took from you, you called back. Moreover, we know that your first action was undertaken so that he would not pass through your land, which he intended to do. Now when our brigade of guards lost heart and departed, they blamed you. And we, enraged, made their *salar* (general) drink bull's blood [*i.e.,*

commit suicide]. We swear by the great god Mihr that we shall in no way harm your kingdom. But you must hurry to see us so that we may reflect on the common good."

When Tiran saw this, he lost his mind and went to him, for justice [itself] drew him to the place of retribution.

When Shapuh saw [Tiran] he upbraided him in front of his own troops and blinded his eyes, as happened to Zedekia in ancient times. Thus justice was rightly demanded for [the killing of] that saintly man by whom our land was illuminated, who was, according to the saying in the Gospel, the light of the world, of which Tiran deprived the Armenians. Thus he, too, was deprived of light, having rulled as king for 11 years [g276].

18.

Concerning Shapuh's enthroning of Arshak, and his campaign among the Greeks.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 18.

Shapuh enthroned as king in Tiran's place, Arshak, who was [Tiran's] son. [In his selection, Shapuh] had an eye on the Armenian troops, so that they not put an obstacle in the way of his plans. He considered that such a step—the rendering of a benevolence—would help him to secure the land for himself. He also subjected the clans of lords by taking hostages from all of them. As *sparapet* of the eastern troops of the Armenians in place of Vahan Amatuni, he designated Vaghinak Siwni, who was loyal to him. Moreover, having entrusted to him [the rule of] Armenia, he himself went in pursuit of the Greek troops. [Shapuh and his army], having reached Bithynia, camped there for many months. Unable to accomplish anything, he erected a column by the sea and on it he put [the image of] a lion with a book between its [front] paws, as a symbol reflecting the fact that just as the lion is the strongest among the animals, so is the Persian [monarch] among kings. As for the book, like the Roman lordship, it contains wisdom.

19.

How Arshak hated the king of the Greeks.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 19.

In those times a disturbance arose for the Persian king Shapuh from the northern peoples. The Greeks had enthroned [g277] Valentinian [364-375] who massed troops in Asia

Minor, chasing out the Persian troops. Then he sent a letter to our king, Arshak.

Valentinian's Letter to Arshak

> "Autocrat Valentinian Augustus with our throne-mate and crown-mate, the *caesar* Valens [wishes] joy to Arshak, king of the Armenians.
>
> You need to recall the evils which befell you from the godless Persians and [be mindful] of the benefits shown [to you] by us from ancient times to your own time. You should distance yourself from them and draw nearer to us, to join with our forces and fight against them and—with approving letters from our generals—send [us] the taxes [due] from your land. [Then you may] take your brother and those exiled with them, for they will be released. Be well in all submission to the Roman lordship."

Arshak did not reply to the letter. Rather, he treated [the Romans] with scornful disdain. Yet neither did he join with Shapuh wholeheartedly. Instead, self-satisfied, he gloried in wine-drinking and the songs of hired musicians. [Arshak] seemed to be braver and more courageous than Achilles, but in fact resembled the lame and pointed-headed Thersites. He rebelled against his overlords until he received retribution for his arrogance.

20.

Concerning Saint Nerse's and his good reforms.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 20.

In the third year of Arshak's reign, the great Nerse's became chief bishop of the Armenians. [Nerse's] was the son of At'anagines. son of Yusik, son [g278] of Vrt'ane's, the son of Saint Gregory. Returning from Byzantium to Caesarea, he came among the Armenians and renewed all the corrective arrangements of his fathers, and went even further. For the good order which he saw in the land of the Greeks, especially in the royal city, he simulated here. He held an assembly of bishops and laity and established mercy by canonical regulation pulling up the root of cruelty, which was the natural custom in our country. For [in Armenia] lepers were persecuted, being considered unclean by law; those with swellings were driven out, so that the disease would not be transferred from them to others. Deserts and deserted places were their refuge. Rocks and bushes were their shelter and they received no consolation for their misfortune from anyone. Along with these, cripples were not protected, unknown guests were not accepted and foreigners did not congregate.

[Nerse's] ordered that poor-houses should be built in various districts in remote and uninhabited places which, like the hospitals of the Greeks, would provide comfort for those physically suffering. He set aside for them hamlets and farms, fertile with the produce of the land, milk from herds, and wool so that by tax they would be protected, and at a distance so that the residents would not leave their dwellings. He entrusted this to a certain Xad, who was his deacon from [the village of] Margats', in [the district] of Karin. He also stipulated [g279] that in all villages, lodgings should be built which would be lodgings for foreigners *(ot'aranots'k')* as well as places for the nourishment of orphans, the elderly, and the poor. In deserted and uninhabited places he also built monasteries, hermitages, and cells for solitaries. As head and overseers of them, [Nerse's] designated Shaghit'a, Epip'an, and Ep'rem and Gind, from the Slkuni clan, and some others.

From the clans of the *naxarar*s (lords) he eliminated these two [customs]: [firstly,] they should not [have] marriage relations with close relations, which [custom] they practiced out of a desire to preserve the freedom of the *sep'uh*s. Secondly, [they should not] following pagan custom, commit crimes over the deceased [in excessive mourning]. After that, one could see our land as a well-mannered, civilized place, rather than a land of uncivilized barbarians.

21.

The killing of Trdat, Arshak's brother; Saint Nerse's goes to Byzantium; and the returning of the hostages.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 21.

Valentinian was strict and very terrible when dealing with those who were lawbreakers. He slaughtered many princes because of their rapacious ways, and burned alive the chief eunuch, a certain R'odanus. This was because after [Valentinian] had ordered him three times to return the property ravished from a widowed woman, [R'odanus] did not return it. Moreover, on the very same day the emissaries [Valentinian] had sent to the Armenians returned [g280] inflaming him even more because of the narration of Arshak's arrogance. At the time, seized with anger, he ordered the killing of [Arshak's] brother Trdat, father of the lad Gnel. [Valentinian] also ordered Theodosius, with a large force, to go against the Armenians. When they reached the borders of Armenia, Arshak was terrified and sent before them Nerse's the Great. Seeking peace, he paid in full the taxes which had been withheld. He had sent Nerse's the Great, also bearing magnificent gifts. Nerse's went and pacified the king and was greatly exalted by them. He also [reqested and] took the hostages and departed. Now there was a maiden named Olympias, who was of the emperor's lineage, whom [Valentinian] sent as a wife for Arshak. The emperor also did a benevolence to the lad Gnel because of their pointless killing of his father, Trdat, granting

him the honor [of the title of] consul and much treasure. Because of this [favoritism], T'irit' was constantly plotting evil against [Gnel], waiting for an appropriate hour.

22.

How the dispute between Arshak and Gnel came about and concerning Tiran's death.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 22.

Gnel came to the hamlet of Kuash, which is at the foot of the mountain named Aragats, to his blinded grandfather, Tiran, who was still alive [g281]. And Tiran bitterly lamented the death of his son, Trdat, Gnel's father, considering himself the cause of his killing. For that reason, he gave Gnel all his belongings and his property in villages and estates. And [Tiran] ordered [Gnel] to reside in that same hamlet of Kuash. Then Gnel took for his wife a certain P'ar'antsem from the Siwnik' clan. Celebrating the wedding royally, he generously gave gifts to all the lords. [The *naxarar*s] were pleased by him and liked him, and gave their sons to him. When Gnel took and grandly dressed and armed them, [the lords] liked him even more.

It was here that Tirit' found a pretext for slander. Approaching the king along with his friend, Vardan, the king's swordsman *(zinakir)* from the Mamikonean clan, they said: "Do you not know that Gnel is planning to kill you, to rule as king in your place? Behold, king, a sign of this thing, for Gnel has settled in Ayrarat on the property of your [Arsacid] kings and the hearts of all the lords are inclined to him. For the emperors have so arranged it—they gave him the dignity of consul and abundant treasures with which he enticed the lords." Vardan swore [an oath] by the king's sun and said: "With my own ears I heard Gnel say: "I will not fail to avenge my uncle for the death of my father, which occurred through his fault."

Believing this, Arshak sent that same Vardan to Gnel [to inquire] "Why are you residing in Ayrarat and breaking the patrimonial regulation?" (Since it was the custom that only the king would reside in Ayrarat along with one of his sons [g282] whom they kept as a replacement for the king. The other Arsacids were to reside in the districts of Hashteank', Aghiovit, and Ar'beran, with stipends and provisions from the royal treasury.) Now, you must choose, either to accept death, or to leave Ayrarat, and to release from you the sons of the lords." When Gnel heard this, he obeyed the king's order and left Aghiovit and Ar'beran. However, [Gnel's] grandfather, Tiran, sent severe reproaches to his son, Arshak. As a result, at the king's secret order, he was strangled by his own chamberlains. [Tiran] was buried in that same hamlet of Kuash, being unworthy of the mausolea of his fathers. For truly he was repaid for [causing the death of] Daniel, the man of God. According to Scripture, with the same measure he had measured, so was it measured out to him.

23.

Arshak again becomes envious of Gnel, and kills him.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 23.

[One day] the king arose to go hunting in his favorite district of Kogayovit, beyond Masis. The prey was so great that Arshak [later] boasted in his wine-drinking that prior to himself, no king had killed such a multitude of beasts in one hour. At this, Tirit' and Vardan again renewed their treachery, saying: "Gnel [g283] caught many more beasts than that in recent days on his mountain called Shahapivan [inherited] from his maternal grandfather, Gnel Gnuni. For this reasons [King Arshak] sent the following message to him.

Letter of Arshak to Gnel

> "Arshak, king of Greater Armenia, greets my son, Gnel.
>
> We are coming, so look for places great with game on the Tsaghkts' mountain, places that are well-wooded and well-watered, places worthy of kings, where we shall find game."

Arshak quickly went after the message, reasoning that if he did not find Gnel engaged in fulfilling his order, he would use that as a pretext to arrest him for [it would demonstrate Gnel's] evil intention towards the royal pleasure. However, when [Arshak] saw such preparations for the hunt, so much prey—stung by feelings of envy and suspicion—he ordered that same Vardan to kill Gnel during that very hunt, pretending that he was aiming at the animal, but that the arrow accidentally had hit him. Receiving such an order, [Vardan] immediately implemented it—not so much because it was the king's order, but because his dear Tirit' wanted it. Arshak with his lords descended to the plain of Aghiovit and buried Gnel's body in the royal city of Zarishat and raised a great lamentation, as though innocent [g284].

24.

How Arshak made bold to take Gnel's wife, from whom Pap was born.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 24.

Although Arshak thought that his evil [deeds] would be worked secretly, that which is not concealed from the all-seeing eye of God also became evident to the world at large, to the dismay of sinners, [namely] the death of Tiran and Gnel. For everyone knew about it as did the great Nerse's, [who] cursed Arshak and the cause of the killing. Then [Nerse's] went and sat in mourning for many days, as Samuel [had mourned] for Saul [in the Bible]. Arshak did not regret or atone for what he did. Rather, shamelessly and greedily he took the treasures and inheritance of the slain man and, in addition, took his wife, P'ar'andzem. From her was born a lad who was named Pap.

This P'ar'andzem committed an unheard of and unprecedented crime worthy of horrifying the listeners. With [the aid of] an unworthy and falsely-called priest, she mixed a fatal drug into the [chalice with the] life-giving [communion], and had this given to Olympias, Arshak's first wife, taking her life through envy of her queenly rank. She also had Arshak kill Vaghinak and had her father, Antiochus, put in his place.

25.

The killing of Tirit'.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 25.

Once Shapuh had established peace with the northern peoples and was unoccupied with warfare, he revealed the wrath that he had toward [g285] Arshak because he had paid taxes not to himself, but to the emperors, for many years. Therefore, Arshak sent to him Tirit' and his dear one, Vardan, with worthy gifts, seeking reconciliation. But since Shapuh wanted to take vengeance for past battles, he himself went to war against the Greeks. On this occasion he asked Arshak our king and all the troops of the Armenians to accompany him. Arshak, however, did not want to go in person and, making an excuse, sent only a few brigades to follow Shapuh.

[Arshak], angered at Tirit', deprived him of his honors as though he [Arshak] had been beguiled by him, due to the hatred he had for the Greeks. [Arshak's] swordsman, Vasak, incited the king even more, being envious of his brother [Vardan] over one young girl concubine. Therefore the king insulted them with shaming and stinging words. Unable to endure such bad-mouthing and slander, they broke away and went to Shapuh, [defecting]. At this, Arshak became yet more enraged, and ordered that same Vasak to go after them with a large brigade and to kill them wherever he found them. Vasak did not hesitate to do all this, despite the fact that Vardan was his own brother. So it was that in accordance with the curse of Nerse's, payment for the innocent blood of Gnel was demanded from the dishonest Tirit' as well as from Vardan, who happened to die at the hands of his own true *(harazat)* brother [g286].

26.

Shapuh's defeat at Tigranakert.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 26.

Shapuh came and arrived at our city, Tigranakert. The men of the city opposed him together with an assembly of troops. For Antiok' patriarch of Siwnik', who was Arshak's father-in-law, and supervisor of the city, ordered that [the entrances] be blocked against Shapuh. Not only did he block the entrances, but he did not send messengers, nor did he receive his [messengers]. In the fierce fight which ensued, many of the Persians were slain. [Consequently,] suffering defeat, Shapuh's brigade turned from there to Nisibis. When the troops had rested and recovered from their labor, [Shapur again] wanted to take Tigranakert. However, the advance detachments and scouts did not allow him to do this, so that the Greek enterprise would not be disturbed. Shapuh, advancing [beyond them], wrote them a letter with this content:

The Letter of Shapuh to Tigranakert

"Shapuh, bravest of the Mazdeans, King of kings, to the people of Tigranakert—you, who may no longer be named as among the Aryans and non-Aryans:

I had wanted, starting with you, to enter all the cities before me in peace and valiant liberty. You residents of Tigranakert happen to be the first—not in bravery, I say, but [g287] in [geographical] order on my route. Should you oppose me, the others will learn from you and do the same. But on my return, I will punish you so much that again you will serve as an example [to others, this time] for disobedient and inpudent people."

27.

How Arshakawan was built and destroyed, and how Ani was taken.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 27.

Arshak, however, dared even more to do a senseless deed. On the rear side of Mount Masis, he built an estate *(dzer'akert)* as a gathering place for evil-doers. And [King Arshak] issued an order that anyone who went and resided there would be free from the laws of justice. At once the entire valley, like the sea, billowed up to fullness with people. For trustees *(awandar'uk')* and debtors, [escaped] servants and evil-doers *(vnasakark'),* thieves and killers and men who had put aside their wives (? *knahank'),* and others like

them who had fled and landed [at Arshakawan], there was no investigation or issue about them. Many times the *naxarar*s (lords) protested, but Arshak paid no heed to them until they even made their complaint to Shapuh. And it happened that Shapuh, on returning from [making war with] the Greeks, sent one of his *sparapet*s (commander-in-chief) and an Armenian brigade with him to seize Arshak, if an opportunity presented itself. But [Arshak] evaded them, [fleeing] to the Caucasus area, and uniting with the Iberians [Georgians].

When the *sparapet* of the Persians arrived among the Armenians, he took the fortress of Ani with the help of the *naxarar*s, seizing all the royal treasures [stored] in it as well as the bones of [the entombed] kings. I do not know whether [the intention of taking the bones] was to deliver some insult to Arshak, or for use in some pagan charms. However, when the *naxarar*s requested them, [the Persians] released [the bones] and they buried them in the hamlet of Aghts'ik' which [g288] is at the foot of the mountain called Aragats. However, because they did not know how to distinguish the bones of pagans from those of believers—since the thieves had them all jumbled together—they did not consider it fitting to bury them in the city of Vagharshapat along with the saints.

Then the Armenian *naxarar*s assembled and went against the royal estate *(dzer'akert)* of Arshakawan. They attacked it and put all the men and women to the sword, excepting suckling babes. For they were embittered against their own servants and criminals. Although Nerse's the Great had been informed about this early on, he did not manage to reach the place before the slaughter. Rather, he arrived when it was over, and found the children of the slain who had been divided up to be taken into slavery like [the children] of foreign enemies. Nerse's the Great freed them, ordering that they be carried in baskets to a stable, and he designated food and nurses for them. The spot later became a hamlet which was named Ort'k' (baskets), for this reason.

28.

The taking of Tigranakert and its complete demolition.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 28.

When Shapuh came to Tigranakkert, [the defenders] again locked themselves in to resist him. Then they went onto the walls and shouted: "Leave us, Shapuh, lest through warfare we subject you to a second evil [defeat] worse than the first." [Shapuh] responded: "O, you brave Armenians, who have locked yourselves in behind your walls of Tigranakert [g289] where you shout out threats. It is fitting for brave men to fight in the open and accessible plain. To lock yourself in through fear of the coming battle is women's behavior. Having said this, [Shapuh] turned to the Greek soldiers he had captured and

said: "If I take this city through your efforts, I will set free all of you with your families." He ordered his Persian troops to surround the city and to shoot arrows at those on the walls.

The Greeks approached in great force and attached to the walls [devices] called "onagers" [asses]. These are wheeled machines operated by three men inside equipped with axes, double-edged hatchets and hammers like beaks for digging up the foundations. The walls which had been firmly erected by Tigran, the descendant of Hayk, they demolished and threw down. Then [the attackers] lit fires at the gates and all [wooden] places. They hurled stones, arrows, and darts which struck and stunned our people. Then, when the entire force had entered [the city] the hands of the Persians did not tire of watering the insatiable iron [weapons] with blood, until streams of blood and gore of the slain rose up from the foundation. The hands of the Greek soldiers set fire to all the wooden constructions. Then Shapuh, having taken prisoner the survivors of the destruction, departed to Persia. He sent messengers to the brigades [stationed] among the Armenians, ordering them to exterminate the clan *(tohm)* of Siwnik' [g290].

29.

Regarding the war of Arshak with his lords, and the going of Pap to Byzantium, as a hostage.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 29.

Shapuh again experienced trouble from the same [northern] peoples, while [at the same time] peace was established with the Greeks—according to [the principle that] changing [phenomena] changes positions: peace [for one side] became disturbances for the other, while [conversely] disturbances became peace. The cessation of one became the beginning of the other. Valentinian became sick and died in the fortress called Bergition, while his brother, Valens, replaced him [as head of] the empire. Following an extremely successful war with the Goths, [Valens] returned, and immediately sent troops to Mesopotamia and Armenia, to give military aid to Shapuh.

Arshak, however, arrived then with an Iberian [Georgian] brigade, gathered a few of his supporters, and made war against his own lords, seeking vengeance for [their destruction of] his estate, Arshakawan. [The lords] united under the leadership of Nerseh, son of Kamsar, and resisted Arshak in battle. It was a fierce battle with many from both sides [g291] falling. For men were fighting men and no one was willing to accept defeat. Now while they were still so engaged, the imperial troops also arrived. Thus it came about that when Arshak saw that his enemies included Shapuh, Valens, and his own lords, and that he was distrusted by everyone, he sent [messages] to Nerse's the Great many times,

begging him [for his help]. [Arshak] vowed to turn from all his evil ways, and to be as [Nerse's] wanted, and to atone in sackcloth and ashes. [Arshak would so behave] if only [Nerse's] would come and make peace and free him from the powerful hands of the Greeks. Similarly the lords came one after the next, thick and fast [to Nerse's] with requests [for reconciliation]. Furthermore [Nerse's'] bishops assembled and begged him not to ignore the [possible] destruction of his own see.

Then Nerse's the Great consented, went among them, and made peace, with both the king and the lords listening to him—except for Meruzhan, patriarch of the Artsrunik' and his sister's husband, Vahan Mamikonean, who did not heed and, rebelling, went to Shapuh. However, all the other lords established an oath that they would serve the king single-mindedly if he would justly rule as king. This was [agreed] among them. Nerse's the Great then went to the Greek forces and begged that they would in no way harm our land, but instead return [to Byzantium] having received the taxes and taking Pap, Arshak's son, and the sons of all the lords, as hostages. The mild and great General Theodosius agreed and returned to the emperor with the hostages and with Nerse's the Great, with a letter from Arshak having the following content [g292]:

The Letter of Arshak to Valens

"Arshak, king of Greater Armenia and all the lords of the Aramian nation [send] greetings to our lord, the great autocrat Valens Augustus and to your son, Gratianus.

> May the autocrat not think that it was from hatred of you that we mutinied, or that we regard ourselves as somehow [militarily] powerful and so sent a brigade of robbers to your Greek country. Rather, being aware of the great disturbances which have arisen among you and being afraid of Shapuh—that no one would free us from his grip—helped him with [a force of] very few brigades. I, Arshak myself, did not go with him, keeping faith with you. That is the reason he wrecked and enslaved our land—to the point that he dug up the bones of our fathers from their graves. So now believe [this account of] what happened and hold firm the affection you previously had toward us, and we will repay you with faithful service."

Valens did not read the letter, nor did he see Nerse's the Great. Rather, he ordered that [Nerse's] be exiled and that all the hostages should be put to the sword [g293].

30.

Regarding the exile of Nerse's the Great and his chance landing on an uninhabited island; and how he was fed through Providence from On High.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 30.

In that period, the episcopal throne of Byzantium was occupied by Macedonius, who fought against the Spirit. When the command came from the royal court to exile Nerse's the Great as a cheat and traitor to the king, some of the heretics of the Arian sect approached [Nerse's] and said: "If you will hold the [Arian] confession along with us, our father, Macedonius, will release you." When [Nerse's] did not agree to do this, he was exiled. This voyage occurred during the fierce winds of winter, winds which threw the ship onto a deserted island and wrecked it. The sailors did not dare to sail with [their] small boat *(makoyk,* "dingy"). Thus they stayed where they were, troubled, eating roots in the forest. However, by God's Providence, they were fed for eight months by fish which the sea threw up there, alive. As for Pap and all the hostages, they had accepted [the Arian confession] and Macedonius had released them.

31.

Arshak's destruction of the lords and about the behavior of Bishop Xad.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 31.

With Nerse's the Great absent, Arshak violated all the oaths he had made with lords (*naxarar*s), and he also sought vengeance for [the destruction of] his estate of Arshakawan [g294]. He killed many lords, in particular exterminating the Kamsarakan clan, due to his greedy envy for [their] fortress of Artagers and the city of their *ostan*, Eruandashat. Summoning them to himself as his own relatives at the abandoned royal residence of Armawir, under the pretext of exalting them with honors, he ordered that all of them—men, women, and children—be killed. None of them survived except for Spandarat, son of Arshawir. This happened because [Spandarat] had an Arsacid wife and he resided on her hereditary lands in the Taro'n and Hashteank' areas. As it happened, [Spandarat] was not present at the massacre, since he had a quarrel with his father's brother, Nerseh. However, as soon as he heard the bad news, he fled to the Greeks with his sons Shawarsh and Gazawon, and his entire family.

When Nerse's the Great was going to the Greeks he ordained the deacon, Xad, to the episcopate of Bagrewand and Arsharunik' and entrusted to him all the work of supervision of the land until his own return. This Xad resembled Nerse's the Great in all things and [did] even more in caring for the poor. His grainaries were miraculously [replenished] like springs, as in the days of Elijah and Elisha. In reprimanding the king he was formidable, severe, and fearless. Satan had no success with him, except in one area—for [Xad] was overly elegant in dress, and a lover of horses. When those he had reproached lambasted and ridiculed him for this [behavior], [Xad, in response,] thereafter left off [his wearing

of] such very elegant clothing. [Instead,] wearing a hairshirt, he circulated about riding on a donkey, until the day of his death [g295].

32.

How Arshak wanted to seize and stone the blessed Xad, for reproaching his transgressions.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 32.

Now it happened that when Arshak was destroying the clan of the Kamsarakans, he ordered that their corpses should be dragged and thrown [anywhere] unburied, to be food for dogs. Then he himself, as though crowned by a great victory, spent his days in festivity. [Arshak] ordered that [the contents of the Kamsarakans'] barns be taken away and stored in Armawir. Having dug two very deep and wide pits in the locality of Naxchawan, they brought them in their wagons to [that] hamlet. Now the drivers—seeing the bones of people eaten by dogs scattered along the edge of the ditch—asked and learned that these were [the bones] of their lords. Collecting them in the wagons [hidden] under reeds, they brought and buried them in the same pits. When Arshak learned about this, he ordered that the wagon divers should be hanged on wood over the pits.

Now Xad, who had not been present on the first occasion, arrived at this time and began to upbraid the king with words of reprimand. Arshak commanded that he be dragged and stoned to death. It happened that [Xad's] daughters were married to men who were great lords, [men] from the powerful and valiant clan of the Apahunik'. They drew their swords and seized Xad from their hands—almost stabbing to death those who were dragging him—and went to their own district. Arshak did not oppose this. Rather, he hid so that a disturbance [embracing] all the lords would not be stirred up [g296].

33.

Regarding the accession of Theodosius the Great and the council held about Pneumatomachoi ("Soul Fighters").

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 33.

Emperor Valens perished—burned to death at Adrianople—already worthy of the eternal flames of Gehenna for his [evil] intentions [during his lifetime]. Theodosius received the crown. He razed to the ground the temples of the idols which had only been closed by the blessed Constantine, [the temple] bearing the names of the Sun, Artemis, and Aphrodite,

in Byzantium. He also destroyed the temple of Damascus and turned it into a church. He did the same to the temple of Heliopolis, the great and renowned *Trilithion* (Three Stones) of Lebanon.

He brought back all the holy fathers who, for their orthodoxy, had been exiled to [laboring in] the mines. Among them was Nerse's the Great whom he had brought to him in Byzantium and kept with great honor until the true faith was confirmed against the blasphemies of the impious Macedonius. For [Macedonius] did not confess the Holy Spirit as Lord or as worthy of worship and praise with the Father and the Son, but [regarded him as] foreign to the nature of God and created, and a servant and minister—a force rather than a personal being. The holy fathers assembled in the royal city of Byzantium: Damascus of Rome, Nestor of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nysa [g297], Gelasius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianz, Amphilocius of Iconium, and other bishops, in all, 150 fathers. They anathematized and excommunicated Macedonius and all the *Pneumatomachoi.*

34.

Concerning Arshak's unwilling trip to Shapuh, from which he did not return.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 34.

When Shapuh was unoccupied with warfare again, he sent against Arshak a certain Pahlaw named Alanaozan, with a strong force. [Alanaozan] was Arshak's relative *(azgakits')*. Arshak evaded him. [Furthermore, Arshak] had been deserted by many of the lords who had extended their hands to Alanaozan and willingly had gone to Shapuh, being disgusted by Arshak, their own king. [These lords], after being exalted by [Shapuh], returned to our own land. Consequently, Arshak, in confusion, sent a messenge to the prince of the Persian troops, with the following contents: "Why do you—who are of my own blood and kin to me—pursue me so vigorously? Even so, I know that you did not come of your own free will, being unable to disobey Shapuh's order to go against your own relative. But now, permit me to hide somewhere for a bit, until I catch my breath and am able to pass into the country of the Greeks. Then you can take hold of my land and will find many benefits from me as from a close relation."

Alanaozan replied with the following sort of response, saying: "If [g298] you did not spare our relations, the Kamsarakans—who were much more closely related to you than I am, sharing your faith and residing in your land—how can you expect me, distant from you in faith and residence, to spare you? And why should I, in the hopes of some expected benefits from you—which are uncertain—lose those I which [currently] have from my king?"

Thereafter Arshak, very much constrained, went to Shapuh, unwillingly. And [Arshak] was placed in custody by him. [Arshak] was forcibly compelled to write that his wife, P'arandzem, should come to the court. Shapuh also ordered all the grandees to come along with P'arandzem.

35.

Regarding the evils visited upon the Armenians by Shapuh, and the death of Arshak.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 35.

When the Armenian lords who had allied with Shapuh, king of the Persians, rather than with Arshak observed that [Shapuh] had requested [the presence of] their women as well as [the wives of] Arshak's supporters, and they also observed that Alanaozan had departed and that the brigade sent for this purpose was small, [the lords] united and drove them away. Furthermore, they took their wives and children and fled to the land of the Greeks. Nor did Queen P'arandzem go at her husband's summons. Instead, taking the [royal] treasures, she holed up in the fortress of Artagers and notified her son, Pap, hoping to escape from Shapuh's hands. Shapuh, enraged at this, shackled Arshak's feet in iron fetters [g299], and had him taken to the Xuzhastan country, [and imprisoned] in the fortress called Anhush [Oblivion]. [Shapuh] then assembled many troops, placing them under the control of Meruzhan Artsruni and Vahan Mamikonean—who had apostasized Christ—and sent them to the land of the Armenians. They came and invested the fortress of Artagers. Although they were unable to do anything because of the unassailable security [of the place], yet due to God's anger at Arshak, the men of the fortress did not wait for news from Pap. Rather, they surrendered willingly, not by force. They were taken into captivity to Asorestan, along with the treasures and Queen P'arandzem. There they were impaled on wagon shafts and killed.

At the same time an order arrived from King Shapuh that they should pull down and ruin the fortifications of all the cities, take the Jews into captivity—those who had been brought by Barzapran R'shtuni in the days of Tigran and lived in Van in the Tosp area, remaining in their faith. Shapuh settled them in Aspahan. They also took into captivity those Jews who lived in Artashat and Vagharshapat and were brought by the same King Tigran, who [later] believed in Christ in the days of Saint Gregory and Trdat. With them was Zuit', the priest of Artashat. Then Meruzhan and Vahan went to Shapuh and slandered Zuit', the priest from Artashat, to the effect that he had come into captivity in order to encourage them to remain steadfast in their Christianity. For that reason, Shapuh ordered [g300] that Zuit' should be tortured so that he abandon the Christian faith. This was something [Zuit'] would not agree to, and he died. When Arshak heard about all these calamities, he committed suicide, like Saul. [Arshak] had reigned for 30 years.

36.

The evils visited upon us by Meruzhan and the reign of Pap as king of the Armenians.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 36.

After Arshak's death, Shapuh assembled a large force under the direction of Meruzhan, and sent it to Armenia, entrusting the land to him. [Shapuh] gave [Meruzhan] as a wife his sister, Ormizduxt, as well as edicts [giving him] many localites and estates in the land of the Persians. Moreover, [Shapuh] promised to give him the Armenian kingdom if he would subdue the *naxarar*s (lords) and turn the land to the Mazdean faith. [Meruzhan] agreed to this and arrived [in Armenia, where] he seized the wives of many *naxarar*s, having them held in various fortresses, in the hopes of converting their husbands. He also attempted to obstruct all the Christian arrangements. Bishops and priests he had bound and taken to the country of Persia over [non-payment of] taxes. He burned the books he came across and issued an order that they should not study material written in Greek, but in Persian—and that no one should dare to speak Greek or translate it. The pretext for this was so that there be no acquaintance or friendly relations whatever among the Armenians with the Greeks. However [the actual reason for these measures] was to obstruct the study of Christianity. For at that time an alphabet for Armenian writing still did not exist, and the church services were conducted in Greek [g301].

Now as soon as Nerse's the Great heard about all the evil which had been visited upon the Armenians and also about the death of Arshak, he entreated the autocrat Theodosius and requested aid from him. [Theodosius] enthroned Arshak's son, Pap, and assembled many troops, under the direction of the valiant *stratelat* Terentius. Nerse's the Great, taking all the lords who were in agreement with Pap's rule, and those opposed, and also the surviving Kamsarakan, [named] Spandarat, sent all of them with Pap to the land of the Armenians. When they arrived, they found the impious Meruzhan ruling as chief over the country of the Armenians. They drove him out and secured the land for themselves. But Meruzhan ordered the guards to hang the lords' wives from the walls of the fortresses until dead, then to leave their corpses hanging on the gallows until they decomposed and fell, becoming carrion for birds.

37.

Concerning the great battle which occurred at Dziraw and the death of the impious Meruzhan.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 37.

Now when Meruzhan notified Shapuh in the country of Khorasan about all the aid which Theodosius had given to Pap, an order was issued by Shapuh that all the Persian troops should go with Meruzhan to fight in Armenia. Similarly, Pap and Terentius notified the autocrat Theodosius that "Shapuh has ordered all the troops to [g302] come against us—all of them except the palace guards." Then the Augustus Theodosius ordered the great count Adde' to go to Pap's aid and to take along all the forces of the Greeks, not leaving anyone behind—including the infantry guarding the cities, those who had silken dragons [as banners].

The battle was waged on the plain called Dziraw and the battle lines began to converge. The young sons of the brave Armenian lords, thirsting for exploits, entered into the midst of the fronts under the leadership of their *sparapet* (commander-in-chief), *aspet* Smbat, son of Bagarat from the Bagratuni clan. Their counterparts from the Persian army also came forth and went among the fronts and the two [antagonists] mixed. When the young Persians turned back, our own [youths] followed closely behind them. Just as a storm in a forest causes the leaves to drop, with that same speed [the Armenian youths], not allowing them to take refuge in their battle formation, knocked them off horses with spears and hurled their cold corpses to the ground. Moreover, when the Persians surrounded our [lads], [these Armenians] went [for safety] into the shield-protected [formation] of the Greeks, as though entering a fortified city, and suffered no harm. This was because Gorgonos, prince of the infantry troops, surrounded Pap's formation with shields [serving] as a [protective] wall.

The forces of the Greeks carried weapons made of gold and silver, and their horses were similarly adorned. As such, they appeared as some kind of wall: most [of the Greek soldiers] were protected in leather and chain armor, giving the impression of [impenetrable] stone blocks. Above them, the manes of hair [on their helmets] swayed like the spreading crowns of trees. As for the movements of the dragons with their vast mouths swollen open by the blowing of the wind [g303], I canot compare them with anything but a diamond mountain descending to the sea—just like this did the entire Greek military formation stand over the Persian forces. One could see them as a mighty river spreading widely along its banks. The color of their protective equipment really created the impression of water.

Now when Nerse's the Great saw all this, he went up to the summit of Mount Npat. There he raised his hands to heaven and did not lower them in his plea, like the first prophet, Moses, until the second Amelek was defeated.

When the sun rose opposite our troops, the reflection from their copper-plated shields glittered on the mountain as if from a great cloud, and from behind them, like flashes of lightning, there jumped forth armored brave men from our lords. Just at the sight of them,

the Persian brigade was disoriented; our [troops] also were slightly [confused], since the rising sun prevented them from seeing ahead. But once the two sides clashed, a cloud overshadowed them from above and a strong wind blew from our side to the Persians. Now when the battle had been joined, Spandarat Kamsarakan encountered a large group, in which was the brave Shergir, king of the Ghek, firmly holding his place at the head of the middle brigade. Spandarat attacked, cutting through the group, threw the brave [Shergir] to the ground as though [he had been] hit by lightning and—turning the group around—put it to flight. Thus, strengthened by help from On High, the Greek and Armenian forces generally filled the entire plain with the enemies' corpses and put to flight and pursued all the survivors. Among them was Ur'nayr, king of the Aghuans, who had been wounded by Mushegh, son of Vasak Mamikonean, and they had removed him from the battle [g304].

However, the impious Meruzhan did not manage to go quickly with the fugitives, since his horse had been wounded. Smbat, *sparapet* of the Armenians, quickly reached him, killed those with him, and arrested the villain at the edge of the Kogovit swamp. Then it crossed his mind that perhaps Nerse's the Great would take [Meruzhan] from him. For that reason, [Smbat] did not take him to the army. Instead, right there he found a ready means of destroying the impious one. Some people were in a tent there and they had kindled a fire and had a iron spit for roasting meat. [Smbat] heated the spit and bent it into a circle like a crown. When he had heated it to red-hot, he said: "Meruzhan, I crown you, since you were looking to become king of the Armenians. For I, as *aspet*, am obliged to crown you according to the princely right of my forefathers. And, while [the "crown"] was still as hot as fire, he placed it on Meruzhan's head. Thus did the evil one perish. After this the country was pacified, submitting to Pap.

38.

How Pap caused Saint Nerse's to drink a fatal drug and deprived him of life.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 38.

After the wars were over and the country became peaceful, Nerse's the Great established an understanding between King Pap and the lords that [in his behavior] he would travel all the paths of righteousness, so that his deeds testify to Christian beliefs; and also so that the king not resemble his father in doing [deeds of] injustice and deprivation. Rather, he should comport himself properly, with fatherly care for the lords. [The lords, in return,] would no longer escalate rebellion and [would cease] insulting him. Instead, they would serve him single-mindedly. Then King Pap returned to Spandarat the Kamsarakan all the belongings [g305] which his father, Arshak, had ravished—the district of Shirak and Arsharunik' which had been [the property] of the Kamsarakan clan. [Pap returned this] not

[for] the unjust greed of his father, Arshak, but as a gift for the labors of the valiant Spandarat who had killed the king of the Gheks. Moreover, [King Pap] returned to the other lords what they had been deprived of and displayed himself as extremely uninterested in worldly goods and [a] generous [person].

But because [Pap] was mired in a shameful disease [homosexuality], he was reprimanded by Nerse's the Great. [For that reason, Pap] looked askance [at Nerse's] and planned evil against him. However, because [Pap] did not dare to do anything bad to him that would be known to the autocrat Theodosius, [Pap] secretly gave Saint Nerse's a fatal drug to drink and took his life. [Nerse's] had occupied the throne of the episcopate for 34 years. The blessed Nerse's departed this world in the district of Ekegheats' in the village named Xax. King Pap took his body and buried it in the hamlet of T'il, keeping secret what had taken place.

39.

Regarding Sahak's occupancy of the [episcopal] throne, and the killing of Pap by Theodosius.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 39.

When King Pap saw that all of Armenia was grieving over the blessed Nerse's, he was obliged to search out and find a certain [man] whose name was Sahak (Shahak), who was of the lineage and descent of Aghbianos, a not unpraiseworthy man. [Pap] designated him as Nerse's' replacement—without [the participation of] the great archbishop of Caesarea. [Sahak] occupied the [ecclesiastical] throne for four years.

Pap heard that Theodosius the Great had arisen from Byzantium and gone toward Rome and had entered Thessoloniki with his troops. There was a disturbance between him and the citizens over [their] place of encampment [followed by] a battle [g306] won by the autocrat in which he killed 15,000 citizens. When Pap heard about this, he thought that such a disturbance would be prolonged, and he scorned [the emperor] and rebelled. Inciting him [which led] to his own destruction, he expelled Terentius along with his troops and began to prepare for war. Then an order came from Theodosius the Great and the brave Terentius turned back. As luck would have it, [Terentius] unexpectedly fell upon [Pap's] army. Some he killed with the sword; others he chased off. It was there that Gne'l, patriarch of the Andzewats'ik' and *sparapet* of Pap's eastern forces, fought bravely, resisting fiercely. But the victorious Terentius with his own sword split his head in half and also captured King Pap. Pap begged and pleaded that he not be put to death [on the spot], but be taken before the emperor. Valiant Terentius, having pity on him, acceded to his wishes. So it was that in iron fetters [Pap] went into the presence of the great

Theodosius, where he was despatched with an axe for his senselessness. [Pap] reigned for seven years.

40.

Concerning reign of Varazdat and his imprisonment.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 40.

The goodly Augustus Theodosius, called the Great, in the 20th year [of his reign] enthroned [over] the Armenians in place of Pap, a certain Varazdat, who was from the same Arsacid clan. This Varazdat was a lad in years [g307], stout-hearted, personable, and strong, full of all deeds of valor and a very capable archer. At the time when he fled from Shapuh, he went to the court of the emperor, where he became a champion, first at Pisa, winning the boxing competition, then again at Heliopolis in Helles at midday, where he killed lions. At the Olympic Games, the wrestlers praised and honored him. As for the valor of his bravery against the nation of the Lombards, I will make bold to say that it equalled that of Saint Trdat, for when five of the enemies' champions attacked him, he killed them one after the other with a sword and, during the siege of a certain fortress, he shot with arrows 17 of his adversaries on the wall and, one after the other, caused them to fall like the early fruits of a fig tree in a strong wind.

He came to our land as king in the 55th year of Shapuh. In his first battle he encountered some Assyrian robbers in the Daranaghi gorges and, putting them to flight, began to pursue them. They, having rushed over a bridge across a narrow place of the Euphrates, had thrown a plank down behind them. But he [ignoring the plank] came up and jumped across the Euphrates, surpassing the long jump of 22 cubits by Chion the Laconian. There one could see, as it were, a new Achilles jump over the Scamander River. Horrified by this, the bandits threw down their arms and surrendered.

Having imbibed [such] bravery from his youth, similarly during his reign he did not submit to the advice of the commanders of the Greek forces. And so he sent envoys to Shapuh [saying that] if he would give him one of his daughters [g308] as a wife, he would return the land of the Armenians to him. Now when the generals of the Greeks became aware of this, they informed the emperor. Emperor Theodosius ordered that [Varazdat] should be taken if he did not willingly go by his own will at the autocrat's summons. For that reason [Varazdat] was forced to go at his own will, hoping to lie to the Augustus. But the emperor did not deem him worthy of an interview. Instead, he had him taken in iron fetters to the [prison] island of T'uli [Thule] in the Ocean. [Varazdat] had ruled as king for four years.

In the second year of Varazdat['s reign], Zawe'n became head of the bishops of the Armenians. [Zawe'n] was from the same lineage as Aghbianos, [and held the position] for four years.

41.

The reign of Arshak and Vagharshak.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 41.

Theodosius the Great enthroned as king of the Armenians in place of Varazdat, Pap's two sons, Arshak and Vagharshak, reasoning that both of them would not unite in rebellion. As he also kept [there] the lads' mother, he released them from him, sending them [to Armenia] with overseers, trusted men, and troops. They came and seized our land and ruled it, bravely battling the Persians. They took wives: Arshak [marrying] the daughter of Babge'n, patriarch of the Siwnik' [clan]; and Arshak, the daughter of *aspet* Sahak, who died in the same year.

In the second year of Arshak['s reign] the chief bishop of the Armenians became Aspurake's, a relative of Shahak and Zawe'n [who held the position] for five years.

When Theodosius the Great went to war, he got sick and died at Midulanon [Milan], leaving the kingdom to his sons, Arcadius over Byzantium, and Honorius [over] the Romans. They were not praiseworthy and were unworthy of their paternal virtues [g309].

42.

Concerning the division of Armenia into two under the two Arsacid kings, and the subjection to two peoples, Persians and Greeks.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 42.

When Shapuh learned that Arcadius was not altogether equitable, he spoke with him regarding peace, because he had been defeated and beaten by his father, Theodosius the Great. Arcadius also wanted to make peace, especially because of his generals. This was because although God had granted them victory during the years of the blessed Theodosius' lifetime, nonetheless, the military commanders were quite tired and weary from the labor of constant warfare. Consequently, they agreed voluntarily to divide the lands of Mesopotamia and Armenia with new boundaries. Therefore Arshak left the native kingdom of his fathers—Ayrarat and all the sections in the Persian part—and went to rule

over the western areas of our land in the Greek section. This was not only because of his mother, who was [residing] in the imperial city, but because he considered it better to rule over a smaller part but to serve a Christian king, rather than to rule over more but under the yoke of pagans. Going along with him were the lords from Shapuh's section, with their women and children, who left behind [their] fields, villages, and estates.

Angered by this, Shapuh wrote to Arshak: "Why are you stirring up war between the emperor and me, taking the lords of my section?" He received this response from Arshak: "They came with me because they are impatient with Persian overlordship. If you entrust me with rule over your section, as the emperor [has let me rule] over his, I am prepared to revere you as I do the emperor. If this does not please you [g310] and the lords, at their own volition [want to] return to you, I will not prevent it." When Shapuh heard this, he enthroned over the Armenians in his section a certain Xosrov from the same Arsacid line. He wrote an edict with the following import to the lords of his own portion who had arisen and departed with Arshak.

Shapuh's letter to the lords

> "Shapuh, king of kings, bravest of the heroes, to the lords whose property lies within my authority, I send you many greetings.
>
> Although you did not act like free [men], each one abandoning his principality, we did not suffer any loss from you. Nonetheless, in accordance with our lordly concern, we pitied you and your land. We though about the fact that flocks cannot be without shepherds, or shepherds without good overseers, therefore we enthroned over you a certain Xosrov, who holds your faith and is of the lineage as your native [Arsacid] lords. Now each of you return to your fields and rule there as you did until now. I swear by fire and water and the immortal glory of my ancestors that we are acting without treachery or deceit and will keep [this oath] irrevocably. Now as for those who do not heed our command, we order that their Houses along with villages and estates should be confiscated by the court. Be well."

43.

Regarding the transfer of the Armenian lords based on each one's hereditary [holdings] to the service of [one of] the two kings.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 43.

As soon as the Armenian lords learned—those who had power in districts within the portion of the Persians—that Shapuh had enthroned as king the believing [Christian] Arsacid and when they saw the [confirming] document with the oath, they left Arshak and returned [g311] to their residences. [The returnees included] all except for three youths who had been nourished with the king [as children] and were close relations: Dara, son of Babik, lord of Siwnik', who was Arshak's father-in-law, and Gazawon, son of Spandarat, lord of Shirak and Arsharunik', and Peroz of the Gardmanats'ik' clan. They were joined by Atat from the Gnunik' clan, Kenan from the Amatunik' clan, Sura from the Mokk' clan, R'e"stom Ar'awenean, and some other unknown people. For this reason, Xosrov at Shapuh's command, confiscated their inheritance for the court and did not allow [their] property to pass from father to son, or from brother to brother.

However, there were also some lords who had their principalities in the Greek section, under Arshak—such as *aspet* Sahak, who was the father-in-law of Vagharshak, Arshak's brother, and who wanted to go to Xosrov. As a result, Arshak viewed him with suspicion, being always deceived by his wife [into believing] that [Sahak] had retained a royal insignia, left from his son-in-law. And then, a false accusation arose against him from his relatives from the district of Sper. For that reason, King Arshak harassed him. Consequently, Sahak sought to flee from Arshak to Xosrov. His advisors and colleagues in this were Sure'n Xor'xor'uni, Vahan Ar'aweghean, and Ashxodar from the Dimak'sean clan. But when [Sahak] had departed, they did not meet up with him, obstructed by Arshak's forces. So they hid [the matter] under a veil of deceit, awaiting a suitable day [g312].

44.

How Xosrov exalted Sahak aspet, and his exploits against the robbers of the Vanandats'i clan.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 44.

Xosrov was greatly pleased with the arrival of Sahak *aspet* and appointed him *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) over his forces. Furthermore, he returned his patrimonial property as well as other hamlets gifted to him from the inheritance of those [lords] from the Persian section who stayed with Arshak.

In those days, some people from the Vanandats'i clan rebelled from Xosrov. Having confidence in no one [but themselves], they fortified themselves in the forests of their mountain and the depths of the caves in Tayk'. Making bandit attacks on the principalities of both Armenian kings, they disturbed our land and kept it uneasy. Going against them, Xosrov's *sparapet*, Sahak *aspet*, killed many of them putting many to flight to the area of

Fourth Armenia. They did not go to the country of the Xaghtik' under protection of the Greeks, nor did they pass to King Arshak. Instead, they applied for refuge to some bandits who were in the area of Fourth Armenia by the border of Syria. For the Vanandats'ik' worked the acts of banditry with great desire and it seemed to them proper and desirable [activity]. Sahak pursued them directly and drove them a long distance, to the borders of Mananaghi [g313].

45.

Regarding the coming to Xosrov of [the lords] Sure'n, Vahan, and Ashxadar with Arshak's treasury.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 45.

Sure'n Xor'xor'uni, Vahan Ar'aweghen, and Ashxadar Dimak'sen, finding the time right [for this operation]—since the treasury of Arshak was being removed from the fortress of Ani to be taken to the land of Ts'op'k'—seized it and wanted to pass over to Xosrov, but they did not have time. This was because Samue'l Mamikonean, a confidant of Arshak's, quickly came after them with a large force and drove them into an inaccessible cave in the Mananaghi district. [Those in pursuit] found no other entrance except for a narrow passage on the side of the cliff. In front of the entrance to the cave was a smooth vertical rock. Above this was the edge of an opening looking into the deepest of gorges. If something were to fall, it would fall spinning with incredible speed and roll, turning ceaselessly to the bottom, for there were no footholds along the way. Because of the inaccessibility of the place, Samue'l was thrown into doubt. However, notifying Arshak, he ordered a box bound with iron to be made. Placing brave men inside, he ordered it to be lowered down on chain cables from above to the entrance of the cave. However, this did no harm [to the thieves] since brambles kept [the cage] a great distance away [from the opening].

While they were involved with this, by a twist of fate, *aspet* Smbat arrived with the entire brigade of Xosrov's troops, [who had been] pursuing the bandits [of the Vanandats'ik']. Letting them escape, [Smbat] turned on those [g314] who were battling for the cave, and chased them away. He then removed from the cave Sure'n, Vahan, and Ashxadar with the treasures—which he had quickly dispatched to Xosrov. Xosrov took this and removed part of it for [the Persian king] Shapuh and, at the latter's order, gave to [the three loyalists] villages along with choice and appropiate estates from the inheritances of those from the Persian section who had remained with Arshak. And this became the beginning of the war between Arshak and Xosrov.

46.

Arshak, defeated in war by Xosrov, dies of sickness.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 46.

Although Shapuh and Arcadius did not aid Xosrov and Arshak or give them military assistance to war against each other, neither did they prevent them [from fighting]. When the sending of [diplomatic] messages [between Xosrov and Arshak] had been exhausted [fruitlessly], Arshak assembled his troops and advanced against Xosrov. Then Xosrov left his camp by Lake Gegham [Lake Sevan], which they called "the Marshes," to go in advance of Arshak and prevent him from descending into his territory. But he was unable to hasten fast enough, so he discovered that Arshak already had descended into his territory in the district of Vanand. [The two armies] encountered one another in the plaiin called Erewel. They gave very fierce battle to each other. Arshak's force was defeated, his commander-in-chief Dara Siwini was killed in the battle, and Arshak fled with few [followers]. Brave *aspet* Sahak, Xosrov's commander-in-chief, pursued them vigorously. Here Gazawon, son of Spandarat, performed awesome feats of bravery, often turning in attack, scattering the pursuers and giving Arshak time to depart [g315].

Then Xosrov returned to his place, while Arshak went to [the district of] Ekegheats'. There he sickened with a wasting disease and fever, and died, having reigned as king of all the Armenians for five years, [and as king] of half the Armenians for two and a half years. Thereafter the Greeks no longer appointed a king in their section. Instead, valiant Gazawon led the lords of those parts. The Greeks, in their part of the land, appointed counts as [governing] princes (*kome'ss ishxans*).

47.

Concerning the blessed Mesrop.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 47.

Mesrop, seeing that the kingdom of the Armenians had come to an end, found material in the agitation to try his patience. [Mesrop], who was from Hats'ek in Taro'n, having been nourished and educated by Nerse's the Great, and after [the latter's] departure from the world, had been appointed secretary at the royal court. [Yet,] he loved the hermit's life. As has been said, the storm-battered ship hastens to reach port and the self-controlled soul seeks the desert. So it was with him: he fled the worldly multitude, leaving behind material honor, seeking instead heavenly [honor]. And so he went to the district of

Goght'n and resided there, living a hermit's life. With the help of the prince of the district, who was named Shabit', Mesrop eliminated the pagan sect which had hidden there from the period of [King] Trdat until then—as the Arsacid kingdom declined—when it was revealed. There, divine signs occurred [g316] as in the time of Saint Gregory. Demons in human form were chased to the Median areas where they took refuge. Nor did [Mesrop] achieve less than this in the land of Siwnik', with the aid of its prince who was named Vaghinak.

Now it happened that the blessed Mesrop experienced no small difficulties preaching, since he was both reader [of the Bible, in Syriac or Greek] and translator [of the text into Armenian] for those listening. However, if someone else did the reading at a place where [Mesrop] was not to be found, [the material] was unintelligible to the people, as there was no translator present. For that reason, he conceived the idea of creating an alphabet for the Armenian language. Putting himself to the task, he worked hard and became worn out from the various attempts.

48.

The return to Xosrov of the lords who had been with Arshak.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 48.

When the Armenian lords observed that the Greeks had not designated a king over them and felt the difficulty in not having a leader, thought to willingly submit to King Xosrov. To this purpose, they wrote to him a letter having this content:

Letter of the *naxarar*s (lords) to Xosrov

> "*Stratelate* Gazawon and all the lords of the Armenians in the Greek sector send greetings to our lord (*tear'n merum*) Xosrov, king of the Ayrarat area.
>
> Lord, you yourself know about our steadfastness for our remembered King Arshak, which we held inviolable to the day of his death [g317]. Now we think to serve you similarly with the same devotion, if you will confirm for us by compact these three points. First, ignore our transgressions since we waged war with you under duress and not willingly. Second, return to us all our inheritance in your Persian sector, which you confiscated for the court. Third, find a way to free us from the emperor in a manner that would not disturb the residences we have in that [Greek] sector. If you write this agreement as an oath and seal it with the sign of the cross, once we have seen it we will hasten to your service. Be well, our lord."

Letter of Xosrov to the lords.

"Xosrov, king of the Armenians, valiant among men, sends many greetings to *stratelat* Gazawon and to all our lords.

Rejoice, since we are well, and we were happy at the news of your greeting. In accordance with your request, we are sending this oath of conditions: First, we will not recall your transgressions, which you do not reckon as transgressions but as proof of your loyalty to the Arsacid king whom you served—and we hope that you will do the same for us. Second, we shall return to you your inheritances which we have confiscated for the court, excepting those which we have already given to someone else. For royal grants are not taken away without [g318] a crime [being committed], and especially since [such grants] have already been recorded in the *diwan* of our father, Lord Shapuh, King of Kings. However, we shall make up the resulting shortfall from the royal [funds]. Third, we shall rid you of the Greek officials, either through war with the emperor or peacefully.

As for you, Gazawon, my blood relation, [I will reassign your rank] so that [you will be ranked] not according to your earlier lineage, but according to your current one, the rights you have from your Arsacid mother, Arshanoysh, removing you from your patrimonial Kamsarakans and bringing you into [the lineage] of your mother and me, honoring you with the name of Arsacid."

When Gazawon saw this, he quickly returned all the lords to King Xosrov. [Gazawon] blessed with magnificent glories, was further honored with the granting of all his requests and [the fulfillment] of promises made to him. It happened that Samue'l Mamikonean had acquired Xosrov's letter and also a copy of the lords' letter. [Samue'l] separated from them and went to Emperor Arcadius. This was because [Samue'l] had killed his own father, Vardan, for apostasy and his mother, Tachaturhi and therefore feared the Persians and his Artsrunid uncles (mother's brothers) and did not dare to leave the Greeks. But Arcadius did well by him and ordered that a copy of the letter be made in Greek and placed in his *diwan* so that memorials of rebellious clans be preserved. It exists to this day.

49.

Xosrov rules as sole ruler of the Armenians, and the archepiscopal throne is held by Sahak the Great.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 49.

As soon as Xosrov ruled over all the lords of the Armenians, as he wished, he sent to Arcadius requesting from him that he entrust to him the Greek part [g319] of Armenia, [promising] that it would be kept prosperous and that he would send taxes to him without fail, as though one of his officials. Arcadius granted Xosrov's request, since he was suspicious of unity among the Armenian lords which would [result in] their removal from him as they gave that sector to the Persians.

After this the archbishop Aspurake's died, and Xosrov put as a successor in his place, Sahak, son of Nerse's the Great, son of At'anagene's, son of Saint Gregory. [Sahak] resembled his ancestors in all virtue and, in part, surpassed them regarding prayers. He had received 60 students, resembling the *Spudaioi* of the capital [Constantinople] who were clerics who wore hairshirts, belts of iron, went barefoot, and always circulated around with him. With them, like those [hermits] who live in the desert, [Sahak] performed the rites with unceasing prayer and he cared for our land like a lay person. To him came Mesrop, regarding his search for letters for Armenian, and he found [Sahak] even more desirous [of an alphabet]. After much effort and no success, they again turned to prayer and beseeched God. After their separation, Mesrop returned to his abode, where they devoted themselves to a rigorous way of life and practiced even greater asceticisms than before.

50.

The imprisonment of Xosrov and the passing of the crown to his brother.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 50.

Shapuh was enraged by Xosrov's friendly relations with Arcadius and his unauthorized appointment to the episcopate of Sahak the Great [g320]. [Shapuh] therefore sent accusations with threats and Xosrov, indignant, replied in a haughty manner and released the envoys in dishonor. Then he immediately communicated with Arcadius [urging him] to break the peace he had with Shapuh, help him with troops, and he would return the entire land to him. Meanwhile Shapuh, responding to the warnings of our [clanal] patriarchs *(nahapetk')*, immediately sent his son, Artashir, with a large force to Armenia. But since Arcadius refused to support Xosrov, and Xosrov did not find support from any foreign people, being unable to oppose or escape from [Artashir], [Xosrov] went to him.

Artashir removed him from his rule and, in place of him put [on the throne] Vr'amshapuh, his brother. He did not upset the honors established by Xosrov either of Sahak the Great or of any of the lords, and commanded that the previous attitude toward the Greeks be maintained. Then, leaving a large brigade there, [Artashir] himself hastened to Ctesiphon in view of his father's old age. With him he took Xosrov, to put him into the [prison]

fortress called Anhush ["Not to be Mentioned"]. [Xosrov] had reigned for five years. [Artashir] also brought along Gazawon, in fetters, as he was suspicious of the man's valor. [Artashir] also commanded that his House be confiscated for the crown as well as that of his brother, Shawarsh, and of Pargew Amatuni. This was because these two, with 700 of their troops, were looking for an opportune moment to attack and free their king Xosrov by an ambush of the caravan on the road. They did not succeed, however, because his feet were bound with chains. A fierce battle took place and Shawarsh and Manue'l, son of Bargew, were killed, as were many with them. As for Bargew, he was seized and taken in restraints before Artashir. [Artashir] ordered that he be [skinned and that the figure be] inflated like a wineskin—and that this [figure] be put before Xosrov in perpetuity [g321].

51.

The journey of Sahak the Great to Ctesiphon and his return with honors and gifts.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 51.

Some saints and venerable people, the first among the lords and bishops of our land, the causes of [our] illumination [had succession] from father to son. The great Sahak's [line experienced] an end of male descendants. [Instead,] he had a daughter named Sahakanoysh, whom he gave in marriage to Hamazasp Mamikonean. Now upon the death of *aspet* Sahak, the brave *sparapet* of the Armenians, Saint Sahak beseeched King Xosrov —and after his imprisonment, his brother, Vr'amshapuh—to appoint [Hamazasp] in his place. But [the king] refused to do that without the order of the King of Kings—remembering that it was for doing such things [without permission] that his brother, Xosrov, came to grief. Then [Sahak] took letters written from him, and at the insistence of his daughter, went to Artashir, [now] king of the Persians who, after the 70-year reign of his father, reigned for four years.

[Sahak] was greatly exalted by him. [This was] first because of his very noble *(k'ajatohmik)* Pahlaw clan, and again [second] since God shows his servants as honored in the presence of the unbelieving king. [The Persian king] completely fulfilled his requests, first about his son-in-law Hamazasp, and second, about the survivors of the clans which he considered blameworthy, the Kamsarakans and Amatunis who were lurking in hiding in unfrequented places. [Sahak] pleaded that they be shown mercy as Scripture commands, not to destroy the sons for the transgressions of their fathers, especially [g322] since the fathers who had sinned had paid the price with their lives. [The Persian king] granted life to the survivors and ordered that the properties of both of them, which had been confiscated by the court, be returned to them. However, [the king decided that] they not be seated in their patrimonial rank, but inserted lower than many lords, and among the most junior. But as for Hamazasp's clan *(azg),* which was of the Mamikonean *tohm*, he

inserted them higher so that they would rank in fifth place among the lords of the Armenians. And [he ordered that these arrangements] be written [and placed] in his *diwan*.

For these two [practices] they usually kept: when a new king was seated, at that same time, the money kept in the royal treasury was stamped with the image of the new [king]. As for the text in the *diwan*, beyond changing the [royal] name, they made few changes, not eliminating the old. Similarly, if [the new king] had a reign of many years and conducted a new census, then what had been previously changed they left out, so that only the new name would be inscribed. However Artashir, because of the shortness of his reign, did not conduct another census. [He] ordered that everything that had been changed by his predecessors should entirely be written under his own name, and that Hamazasp should be given rank and honor together with rule over villages and estates and the [office of] commander-in-chief of the Armenians—which he desired. [The Persian king] wrote this as an edict to our King Vr'amshapuh. It had this content:

Artashir's letter to Vr'amshapuh

> "Valiant of the Mazdeans, Artashir, King of Kings, to his brother Vr'amshapuh, king of the Armenians, many greetings.
>
> I have received your letter about Bishop Sahak [g323] and remembered the merits of his father's ancestors, who were patriarchs *(nahapetk')* of the Surenean Pahlaws who willingly accepted the lordship of my ancestor of the same name, Artashir. They liked him so much more than their other kinfolk, that they not only fought against them within the land of the Persians but, because of [Artashir] they came to your [country] and killed your ancestor, Xosrov, and paid for this killing with their lives. Gregory, son of the killer, through his healing returned to Trdat his life and restored his kingdom which had been lost through illness, thus increasing his merits to you. Therefore, by our command, appoint Hamazasp, who has become the son[-in-law] of [Sahak] over your troops as commander-in-chief, and give to his clan the fifth rank of honor among the lords. As for the villages and estates which your ancestors gave to their father, let them have them [back again]. Similarly, the Houses of these evildoers among the clans which were confiscated for the crown, let their survivors inherit them without fear. However, do not honor them with seats corresponding to the ranks of their fathers. We have also ordered that [these arrangements] be recorded in our *diwan*. Be well."

Now it came about that when Sahak the Great came back and all the grants from Artashir had been confirmed, Artashir, king of the Persians, died. In his place ruled Vr'am, also called Krman, for ten years. He maintained the same friendship with our land of Armenia and with our king, Vr'amshapuh, and with Sahak the Great. Furthermore, there was peace

between Vr'am and Arcadius. Vr'amshapuh ruled our land and served both kings, giving taxes to Vr'am from the Persian section, and to Arcadius from the Greek [g324].

52.

Regarding Daniel's script.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 52.

In that time there was confusion in the empire of the Greeks: Arcadius became ill and there were frightful earthquakes and fires in Byzantium, because of [the mistreatment of] John the Great [John Chrysostom]. Byzantine troops warred against each other as well as against the Persians. Therefore Vr'am ordered our king, Vr'amshapuh, to descend into Mesopotamia to bring peace to them and make a count of the officials on both sides. When [King Vr'amshapuh] descended to accomplish all this, he experienced no small difficulty in the matter of a secretary. For since the time that Mesrop had left the royal court, he found no one competent among the scribes, since they wrote in Persian script. Therefore a certain priest named Habe'l approached the king and promised to make a script for the Armenian language, adapted from [the script of] Bishop Danie'l, who was his relative. Now it happened that the king paid no attention [to Habe'l]. Returning to Armenia, he found assembled around Sahak the Great and Mesrop all the bishops, concerning themselves with the creation of an alphabet for Armenian—and they made the king aware of this. [The king, in turn,] related to them what the monastic [Habe'l] had told him. As soon as they heard this, they beseeched him to show zeal for such beneficial matters.

Therefore [King Vr'amshapuh] sent as a messenger to that Habe'l a man who was honored in this land and loyal to himself, who was named Vahrich, from the Xaduni clan, [a man] very desirous of this work.]Vahrich] took Habe'l with him to Danie'l from whom they learned well the series of letters written long ago and arranged in the order of the Greek [alphabet]. They returned and gave them to Sahak the Great and Mesrop. After studying them and getting some young boys to study [Danie'l's alphabet], they realized that it was not possible using these letters, which had been received as a gift, to exactly represent the sounds of the Armenian language.

53.

Regarding the Mesropean letters, given by grace from On High.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 53.

After this, Mesrop himself descended into Mesopotamia with his students to [visit] that same Danie'l. However, not finding more there than before, he went to Edessa, to Plato, a certain pagan rhetorician, head *(ishxan,* "prince") of the *diwan*. [Plato] received him with joy and, recalling his knowledge of Armenian, worked very diligently but to no avail, and the rhetorician confessed his ignorance. Yet he spoke of his earlier teacher, a very experienced man by the name of Epip'anos. [The latter] had taken books of sages from the same *diwan* in Edessa, departed, and became a Christian. "Find him," [Plato said], "and your wish will be fulfilled [g326]."

It was then that Mesrop, finding aid from Bishop Babilos, passed through Phoenicia and made for Samos [or, Samosata]. For Epiphanius (Epip'anios) had died and left a student named Rufinus (Hr'op'anus) remarkably skilled in the business of a Greek scribe who had become a solitary in Samos[ata]. Mesrop went to him, but here, too, there was no profitable outcome and he took refuge in prayer. Then [Mesrop] saw—not a dream seen when sleeping, nor a vision seen while awake. Rather, in the workshop of his heart there appeared before the eyes of his soul, a right hand writing on rock. Like snow, the stone retained traces of the writing. Not only did [this writing] appear, but all the details about it were deposited in his mind, as if in some vessel. Arising from prayer, he created the characters of our alphabet with Rufinus, who gave shape to the script made by Mesrop, adjusting the Armenian characters/signs according to the exactness of the Greek syllables. Then [Mesrop] at once set about translating, thoughtfully starting with Proverbs. Completing the 22 known books [of the *Old Testament*], he also translated the *New Testament* into Armenian—he and his students, Yohan of Ekegheats' and Yovse'p' of Palin, at the same time teaching the art of writing to his younger students [g327].

54.

Regarding the scripts of the Armenians, Georgians, and Aghuans.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 54.

After Arcadius died his son, who was called Theodosius the Younger, reigned. He maintained the same friendship with our land and our king Vr'amshapuh. However, [Theodosius] did not entrust [Vr'amshapuh] with his [Byzantine Greek] sector. Rather, he himself ruled it with officials, and he made peace with Yazkert, king of the Persians. At that time Mesrop arrived, bringing along the script of our language. Then, at the command of Vr'amshapuh and Sahak the Great, [certain] select youths were assembled—intelligent, well-spoken, with pleasing voices and long breath—and established schools in all the districts. He taught the entire Persian sector, but not in the Greek sector, where they were subject to the see of Caesarea due to it right of ordination, and where they used Greek, rather than Syriac, script.

Now Mesrop also went to the land of the Iberians [Georgians] and, through grace from On High created an alphabet for them, with a certain [man named] Jaghay, who translated the Greek and Armenian languages, with the aid of their king Bakur and [their] bishop Movse's. After selecting children and dividing them into two groups he left as teachers for them Te'r of Xordzean and Mushe' of Taro'n [g328].

He himself descended into Aghuania to their king, Arsvaghe'n, and their bishop, Eremia. They willingly accepted his teaching and provided selected children. He summoned a certain Benjiamin, a gifted translator, whom the young Vasak, lord of Siwnik' immediately sent under the direction of their bishop, Anania. With them, [Mesrop] created an alphabet for that language of the Gargarats'ik' [which was] gutteral, harsh, barbaric, and very difficult. Leaving his student Yovnat'an as overseer, and at the same time designating priests for the royal court, [Mesrop] himself returned to Armenia. There he found Sahak the Great occupied with translation from Syriac, since there were no Greek [books]. This is because previously, due to Meruzhan, Greek books had generally been burned throughout the land. Again, at the time of the division of the land of the Armenians, the Persian overseers did not allow anyone to study Greek in their sector, only Syriac.

55.

Xosrov reigns as king of the Armenians a second time, and after him Shapuh the Persian [ruled].

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 55.

Vr'amshapuh died after reigning for 21 years, leaving a ten-year-old son, named Artashe's. Then Sahak the Great went to the Persian court, to the Persian king Yazkert, to request [the return] of the imprisoned Xosrov. [Xosrov], after the death of [Persian king] Artashir, had been released [from fetters] but kept in the fortress called An[h]ush, during the days of [Armenian king] Vr'amshapuh. Yazkert consented to this and granted his request, giving [Xosrov] the lordship, and releasing him to return to the Armenians. [Xosrov] requested [g329] Gazawon's son, Hrahat who, after his father's death, had been removed from Anyisheli [(Anhush) prison] and sent beyond Sagastan [for military service]. However, Xosrov did not live to see him, since he reigned for the second time for only a year.

After this, Yazkert enthroned over the Armenians not one of them [Armenian Arsacids] but his own son, Shapuh. [This was done] with malicious intent so that, supposedly, the [Armenian] lords being always with him would join with him in the course of conversation, interchange, at feasts and at the hunt and, additionally, would draw closer through marriage ties. [Then] it would be possible to convert them to the faith of the

Mazdeans at which time they would completely separate from the Greeks. The fool did not know that "the Lord destroys the plans of the pagans"—although he did succeed for a while. For after Hamazasp had died and Sahak was in deep mourning, there was no one to gather together the Armenian brigades. Therefore Shapuh easily was able to enter the land, bringing along with him Hrahat and all the exiles. However, he was unable to gain the favor of the lords, since all of them hated him. Nor did they exalt him like a king during the hunt or during games.

Once there was an incident when they were boldly chasing a herd of wild asses over rough and rocky terrain. Shapuh began to lag behind. Then Atom Gnuni, mocking him, said: "Go on, go on, you Persian son of a god—if you are a man. [Shapuh] replied: "You go ahead, for attacking rocks is the mark of a demon." Again, on another occasion they happened to be hunting wild boars in the reeds, using fire. Shapuh did not dare to ride into the dense thickets [g330] and the flames already were surrounding them in a ring. [Shapuh], glancing to both sides, rode his horse this way and that. Then again Atom said to him: "You Persian, son of a god, behold, your father and god [is present here as fire], why are you confused?" Shapuh replied: "Leave off your joking, turn around, and cross through the fire yourself, and I will follow you. For if I were to go first, my horse would rear up." Then Atom mocked him, saying: "Are there stones here, too, that I should ride ahead? If you call us people from Mokk' a demon race, I will go farther and say that you Sasanians are men who are like women." Then, whipping his horse, he passed through the fire as though crossing through a valley of flowers, freeing Shapuh. [Atom], realizing after that, that Shapuh would not let this [insult] pass in silence, went to the land of Mokk'.

Another time during a tilting-match [in a game played with mallets], Shawarsh Artsruni twice was able to take the ball from Shapuh. [Shapuh] struck him with a mallet and said: "Know who you are." Then [Shawarsh] replied: "Indeed, I do know that I am the son of a king from the seed of Sanasar and have the right among your brothers to kiss the cushion of the king, as my name testifies." Saying this with exceeding contempt, [Shawarsh] quickly left the race course.

On another occasion, when making merry at a feast, Xosrov of Gardman, in his cups, in the presence of Shapuh, showed an indecent and passionate love for a woman who played the lyre with skillful fingers. Enraged by this, Shapuh ordered that [Xosrov] be arrested and kept at the hall. However, [Xosrov], hand on his dagger [g331], like Trdat Bagratuni, went off to his own home—while none of the court servitors dared lay a hand on him, knowing in advance what sort of man he was. We were forced to narrate this [type of material] because of your inappropriate request.

What transpired after Shapuh's coming to Armenia, and the anarchy after him.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 56.

After four years of a dishonorable reign over Armenia, Shapuh received news of his father's illness and quickly went [to the Persian court], ordering the military leader, his deputy, to seize the Armenian grandees and take them to Persia. But as soon as Shapuh had reached Ctesiphon his father, Yazkert, died having ruled for 11 years. On the same day, [Shapuh] also perished, through the treachery of court people. Now it was at the direction of the valiant and fortunate Nerse's Chichrakats'i as military leader that the Armenian lords were assembled with their troops and gave battle to the Persian brigade. [The Armenian lords] beat the [Persian] troops and Aprsam Spanduni killed their military commander. Then they dispersed, with the leaders looking to their own safety, wandering over all the mountains and fortresses. In this matter [of defense], the Vanandats'ik' displayed the most consistent feats of bravery. Thus for three years our land remained in tumult with many disturbances and was ruined and wrecked. Therefore taxes were not paid to the court and the roads were cut off to the common folk, and all order was disrupted and corrupted [g332].

In these same days, Vr'am the Second ruled as king of the Persians and sought vengeance from our land. He made peace with the Greeks and did not touch their sector.

57.

The mission of Mesrop to Byzantium and copies of five letters.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 57.

As soon as Sahak the Great saw all these evils in the Persian sector, he went to the western sector of our land, to the Greek part. But he was not received in a fitting manner. Therefore he sent Mesrop and his own grandson, Vardan, to Byzantium, to Emperor Theodosius, with letters having this content:

Sahak's letter to Theodosius

"Sahak, bishop of Armenia, sends greetings in the Lord to the peace-loving emperor, my lord, Augustus Theodosius.

I know that news of our difficulty has reached the ears of your majesty. Therefore, at your feet, trusting in your benevolent kindness, I apply for refuge, since I did not receive [affirmative] reception in my diocese by order of their officials. They hate me so much

that they did not even accept the alphabet which that same man [Mesrop] whom I have sent to you and who endured many hardships in the land of Syria had brought. May it please your lordship to not make us powerless in our own see, and to order [them] to accept us and our teaching. Be well."

[Sahak] also wrote to the bishop of the royal city, as follows [g333]:

Sahak's letter to Atticus

"Sahak, bishop of the Armenians to our teacher, Atticus, bishop of the imperial court, sends greetings and blessing.

Trusting in your holiness, we have sent Mesrop, the teacher of our land, and also my grandson, Vardan, so that you hear from them about the calamitous difficulties that have befallen us, so that you will intercede with your great king, to help us as a true and beloved brother. Be well."

He also wrote to General Anatolis as follows:

The letter of Sahak to Anatolis

"Sahak, bishop of the Armenians, sends greetings to the valiant general Anatolis.

I am grateful to God for preparing you as a refuge for us. Concerning this, I am informing you that for relief from our difficulty, I have sent to court our teacher, Mesrop, and my grandson, Vardan. I beseech your valiant excellency to facillitate their journey. Be well."

Anatolis—seeing this and at the same time recalling news which earlier had been noised about regarding Mesrop's virtue—held a not insignificant reception for them, to the point that he informed the emperor [about the proceedings] in written correspondence. [As a result], he received an order to send them off in haste, in a worthy fashion. Therefore, [Mesrop] retained in the city of Melitene the multitude of students whom he had brought with him along with their head, Ghewond [g334], and entrusted them to Bishop Acacius. [Anatolis] himself took along with him Mesrop and Vardan, entrusting them to Bishop Gind of Derjan, and sent them off in a goodly fashion. Thus did they enter Byzantium and, after being in the great king's presence, they got what they had hoped for and [beyond that] what they had not hoped for. They returned with a letter having this content:

Letter of Theodosius to Sahak

"Emperor Theodosius Augustus and Caesar of the Romans sends greetings to Sahak the great bishop of the Armenians.

Having ordered your letters to be examined, we have become apprised of what you wrote. We blamed you greatly—for you, with all your heart, inclined to pagan kings and did not inform us, even by letter [of your intentions]. In this affair, we blame you even more for having disdained the scholars who are in our city and [instead] turned to some Assyrians for scholarly inventions. For that reason, we are pleased that such teaching was scorned by our servants [in the Greek sector]. However, since Mesrop later told us that the completion of your project was due to grace from On High, we have written that they should study [the alphabet] with all diligence and also receive you with respect as their true teacher *(vardapet)*, resembling the archbishop of Caesarea with provisions and expenses paid for by the court. Furthermore, we have ordered that a city [Theodosiopolis/Erzerum] be built in your land of Armenia as a refuge for yourself and for our troops. For your sake, we also have made *stratelat* your son's son, Vardan, and have inscribed Mesrop among the foremost *vardapet*s. Be well."

The great bishop Atticus also wrote a letter, with this content [g335]:

Letter of Atticus to Sahak

"Atticus, autocephalous bishop of Constantinople, sends greetings in the Lord to my dear brother and colleague Sahak, bishop of the Armenians.

We offer many thanks to God for your good reputation in the midst of such a barbarous people. However, we do not leave you free of blame that earlier you did not recall the love held [for us] by your blessed fathers Gregory and Nerse's. And we are even more amazed as to why you have left the source of the Church, our father Saint John, by whom not only this universal capital city but also all Christians in the entire world were illuminated through his doctrine. For that reason they called him Chrysostom ("Golden-Tongued"). Yet you neglected him and wished to quence your thirst with torrential waters, until the Almighty, seeing your vain efforts, let loose upon you the grace of the Spirit—at which we are now glad. At the command of the autucrat Augustus, you are given the authority to teach in your area. As for the sect of the Borborites, either convince them [to desist] or expel them from your diocese. Regarding Mesrop whom you sent [to Constantinople], we have ordained him *ecclesiasticus* [g336]."

58.

Concerning instruction in our western [sector] and peace in full, and about the reign of Artashir.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 58.

When Mesrop and *stratelat* Vardan arrived, they found that General Anatolius had come close to our borders. [Anatolius], having received the royal order, promptly and with zeal brought the matter to completion. For the princes, officials, and chiefs who were prominent in these parts readily gathered in one place with the entire host of priests, as though summoned by the word of God. These they began to teach at once and quickly educated the western sector as had been done in the eastern [sector].

Then Sahak the Great began receiving messages from many *naxarar*s, asking him to come to them and unite them all together. For Vr'am, king of the Persians, knew that without the Armenian *naxarar*s, he could not hold the land. Therefore [Vr'am] proposed peace via *aspet* Smbat. [Sahak], for that reason, left Mesrop in charge of instructing the western sector and with him his own grandsons, Hmayeak and Hamazaspean, the brothers of *stratelat* Vardan. He ordered them to examine the vile Borborites, and if they would not come to orthodoxy by persuasion or threats, to persecute them with tortures, so that they take vengeance as enemies upon enemies, and so that the unjust death of souls be shamed by a just death [of the heretics]. [Sahak] himself came and crossed through the Ayraratean district. Assembling all the *naxarar*s and their descendants, he sent *aspet* Smbat and *stratelat* Vardan, his grandson, to the court of the king of the Persians [g337].

Then [the Persian king] confirmed the peace treaty and sealed an amnesty for crimes and, at their request, designated as king Vr'amshapuh's son, Artashe's. Changing his name to Artashir, he entrusted the land of the Armenians to him, without a Persian overseer. He reigned for six years.

59.

Construction of the city of Karin, which is called Theodosiopolis.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 59.

General Anatolis received the royal order, came to our land, and circulated around through many of our regions [examing them]. It pleased him to build the city [mentioned in the agreement] in the district of Karin, [a district] of rich soil, plentiful water, and fertility. [Anatolis] considered this site as centrally [located], not far from the places where the sources of a part of the Euphrates River spring forth. [The river] advances with a peaceful course, spreading out with the appearance of a vast marsh. [Here are found] countless numbers of fish and various types of birds feeding—from whose eggs alone the inhabitants may be fed. Along the edges of the swamp are reeds and rushes, and the plains have thick grass and an abundance of fruit with seeds. The mountains are full of cloven-footed and ruminant animals. Also, the herds of animals increase here—animals of great height, size, and strength, as well as marvellous fatness [g338].

And there, at the base of a beautifully-situated mountain where many small transparent springs were found, he planned the city. Surrounding it with a deep moat, he laid the foundations of a rampart at a great depth. Above it he built awesome high towers, the first of which he named T'eodos, in honor of [Emperor] Theodosius. To one side of it he built rock towers, like the prow of a ship, with recessed passages facing the mountain and the same opposite the northern plain. To the east and to the west he erected round towers. In the middle of the city on an elevated spot he built numerous storehouses, naming them Augustian in honor of Augustus. From various places he gathered many waters and conducted them [into the city] by hidden conduits. He filled the city with arms and a brigade for protection, and named it Theodosiopolis, so that the name would be immortalized with that of the city. Over warm springs [there] he built structures of dressed stone.

60.

Mesrop again preaches, and the going to Byzantium of the translators.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 60.

Mesrop, staying in deserted and forested places called Shaghgomk', finished the instruction of the first-gathered [g339] group [of students]. He instructed—not as though it were an art—but like an apostle, giving his soul to the students. After this, leaving supervisors from among his students in that place—Ghewond and Enovk' in Sper; in Derjan, their bishop, Gind; in Ekegheats', Danan—[Mesrop] came to Ayrarat and passed into the district of Goght'n, the place of his first residence.

For [in Goght'n] there remained the root of bitterness of the pagan sect which had reemerged during the period of anarchy and had spread to many. When [Mesrop] had rooted it out with the help of Giwt, prince of the district, and worthy son of his father, Shabit', he was further informed that the earlier teachers of [heretical] evils were then to be found in the Baghasakan areas. Going there, [Mesrop] led many to orthodoxy, while some few who would not change, he expelled to the dominions of the Huns. Entrusting the teaching of those areas to a bishop named Mushegh, he returned along the valley of Gardman, for he had heard that followers of the same heresy were [living] there, too. Finding them, he also brought them to knowledge of the truth and with them, for a second time, the prince of Gardman, whose name was Xurs. Then [Mesrop] was invited from there by Ashusha, *bdeshx* [borderlord] of Gugark' [g340] to come to his principality in the district of Tashir, for the same purpose. Having gone there, he instructed them better and made them more firmly grounded than all his students. Around that time, a certain Archil had beome king of the Iberians.

Then Mesrop and Sahak the Great came and, taking the same students—Yovse'p' and his other comrade from Koghb village, whose name was Eznik—sent them to the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. This was so that they could translate into our language all the books that they found there composed by the first holy fathers, and bring [the translations] back quickly. After that, they would be sent to Byzantium to engage in the same work [of translating]. But then they received seductive letters from certain liars, claiming that Sahak the Great and Mesrop were preparing to send others to Byzantium. For that reason, without an order from their own teachers, they set out immediately and went to Byzantium, being zealous for good learning. As they were well trained in Greek writing, they set to translating and writing. However, their companions and fellow students named Ghewond and Koriwn, being jealous of them, joined them in Byzantium on their own initiative. Then Yohan and Ardzan arose and went there. These two earlier had been sent [to Byzantium] by Sahak the Great and Mesrop. However, they travelled slowly and lazily and stayed too long in Caesarea. Maximian, bishop of the Byzantines [and patriarch of Constantinople] gave all of them an exalted reception [g341].

61.

Concerning the Council of Ephesus, which took place because of impious Nestorius.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 61.

In that period, the impious Nestorius sat on the throne of the episcopacy of the Byzantines. Following the Jewish interpretation, he cursed the most-blessed Virgin as being mother of a man and not of a God. [Nestorius claimed that] the one born from her had a beginning but was called Son by grace from Mary, while another was Son from the Father before ages—so that there were two Sons and, by this, the Trinity became a Qaternity. Therefore the holy fathers gathered at seaside Ephesus in [the province of] Asia. In a written statement, Celestine of Rome, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, John of Antioch, Memnon of Ephesus, Paul of Emesa, Theodosius fo Ancyra, and many others, altogether 200 fathers, anathematized Nestorius and confessed Our Lord Jesus Christ as the one Son of God and the most-blessed Virgin Mary as the Mother of God.

Now because Sahak the Great and Mesrop were not encountered at that council, they were written to with warning by bishops Cyril of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople, and Acacius of Melitene. For they had heard that some of his heretical students, having taken the writings [g342] of Theodore of Mopsuestia—teacher of Nestorius, and student of T'e'odor (Diodore)—had gone to the land of the Armenians. Then our translators, whose names we recalled earlier, came and found Sahak the Great and Mesrop at Ashtishat in

Taro'n and presented to them the letters and the canons of the Council of Ephesus, in six canonical chapters, and also correct copies of Scripture.

Sahak the Great and Mesrop took these and translated again what initially had been hurriedly translated and made with our translators a new, revised version. But, as these translators were ignorant of our art, defects were found in many places in their work. For that reason, Sahak the Great and Mesrop selected us and sent us to Alexandria to learn eloquence and to thoroughly complete our education at the academy.

62.

On the vardapets (Doctors of the Church), myself, and the journey to study, with a comparison to celestial bodies.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 62.

Those who follow scholars and are skilled in astronomical studies say that stars receive light from the Moon, the Moon swells up thanks to the Sun, and the solar orb [is illuminated] by the ethereal heavens. Thus the ether pours its rays into the two zones, and each of them is illuminated by the Sun, according to its position, movement, and time. By this same example we, travelling in a circular movement through the southern parts, arrived at the city of Edessa—illuminated by the grace that continaully flows from the rays of intelligence of our spiritual fathers. Sailing lightly over the depths of the archives, we passed from there to the holy places, to worship and to remain for a time, studying in Palestine.

In this leisurely manner, we entered Egypt, that renowned land free from the extremes of cold and heat, from floods and droughts, located in a most beautiful part of the world, filled with all kinds of fruit, surrounded by a wall not made by human hands—the Nile. [The Nile] not only protects it but also itself supplies food in adequate measure, with irrigation regulating periods of dryness and moisture for the benefit of the agriculture of the country. Everything which is not found there is easily produced by the transport the river provides. It provides all this in abundance, as on an island, for it surrounds the country and flows everywhere, dividing itself into twelve branches. In an excellent location stands the great city of Athens, a city of proportion, with a temperate climate, built [g344] between the sea and an artificial lake. It is thanks to them [sea and lake] that a very pleasant breeze blows there; for, whether from the mouth of the lake towards the sea, or from the nearby sea, winds are continually blowing—light ones when they come from the sea, and heavy ones when they come from the lake. Their mingling produces a beneficial, strengthening effect on health.

Nowadays, the foremost one here is not that Pluto who [once] sat here with his five mountain peaks embracing the world. Rather, [the leader is] Mark, preaching the Gospel. No longer the tombs of godly heroes descended from dragons, but instead the wonderful martyria of saints. No longer is celebrated on the 25th of Tubi the foolish festival of crowning beasts of burden, the worshipping of serpents and the distribution of cakes. But on the 11th of the same month of Tubi, the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord is celebrated, the victorious martyrs are praised, strangers are welcomed, while the poor are given gifts. They no longer sacrifice to the demon Serapis, but offer Christ's blood as a sacrifice [g345]. They no longer seek oracles from Proteus of the underworld, but [now] they study the power of various sciences from the new Plato, I mean from the teacher of whom I was not found an unworthy student. Moreover, I reached and established myself at the heights of mastery—not through imperfect study.

Wanting to sail to Greece, we ended up in Italy through the force of the winds. After greeting the tombs of saints Peter and Paul, and not remaining long in the [capital] city of the Romans, we passed to Greece and reached Athens. We stayed in Athens for a short while. When winter had passed, we set out for Byzantium, eager for [returning to] our homeland.

63.

About the wicked alliance of the Armenians to plan their own destruction.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 63.

Artashir, king of the Armenians, began to plunge into licentious desires, to the point that all the Armenian *naxarar*s became disgusted with him. Going to Sahak the Great, they raised a complaint—inviting him to assist them in denouncing [Artashir] to the king of the Persians and dethroning him as their king, and to bring in a Persian to administer this land of ours. But [Sahak] said: "I do not consider you to be liars. I, too, have heard about such disgraceful [g346] and shameful acts. On many occasions I have reprimanded him, but he denied [the accusations]. And now, we must put up with the man's shortcomings for awhile, until we are able to arrange a way out of this matter, with Theodosius, emperor of the Byzantines, and not hand him over to the impious [pagan Persians] to be ridiculed and mocked."

But not accepting this, they tried to make him share their opinion. He said to them: "God forbid that I should give my sheep which has strayed to the wolves, or leave it unattended when it is wounded or sick, but instead, push it over a cliff. But if this were happening before a believing [Christian] king, I would be eager and not hold back, hoping to raise up the fallen one. But [seeking justice for him in the presence of] pagan [kings] would lead to

his further destruction. I will not consent to this in accordance with the saying: "Do not betray to wild beasts the person who confesses himself to you" [Psalms 73:19]. For he has been sealed in the baptismal font, even though he is licentious. He is a fornicator, but a Christian; he is corrupt in body but believes in the soul; he lives a debauched life, but is not a fire worshipper; he is weak with regard to women, but does not serve the elements. Is it possible that I should exchange my sick sheep for a healthy beast whose very health is a scourge for us?"

Now the lords thought that [Sahak] was acting deceitfully to delay them, so that he might prepare the king. All of them said: "Since you did not agree with our decision that he should not rule as king, now we also desire that you should not be our priest." Then, all united, they went before Vr'am, king of the Persians, along with a certain Surmak from Artske', a glory-seeking presbyter, to bad-mouth their king, Artashir, and Sahak the Great, and accuse them of sympathy with the Greeks [g347].

64.

About the abolition of the kingdom of the Armenians by their own will and the disrespecting of the throne of the archepiscopate.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 64.

At that time Vr'am, king of the Persians, summoned to court Artashir, king of the Armenians, and Sahak the Great. And they wanted him to accuse Artashir. But [Sahak] refused to say anything, bad or good. Then [Vr'am] ordered the [official called the] *hazarapet* of the Aryans who was a Pahlaw of the Surenian [lineage] to convince [Sahak] through friendly advice, as his relative. The latter began to speak [to Sahak] with tempting words, saying: "Since you are of my blood, and are my kin, I will say this, wishing you well: if only you agree with your *naxarar*s, you will be exalted by the king of the Persians. Moreover, your grandson, Vardan, will be appointed over the Armenians, equal [in power] to the king and with the same honors." However, [Sahak] did not agree to this and replied: "Out of vanity and a lust for power should I speak ill of my companion? Or why are you so eager to depose Artashir? For I do not know about any plans of his to rebell. But if it is because of his licentious behavior—which they accuse him of—that [behavior] is worthy of honor from you, in accordance with your impure laws, even though he is guilty according to ours. But you shall hear nothing at all from us."

Then Vr'am, angered, held an investigation in the great court. Not heeding anything [said] by Artashir, [Vr'am] eagerly listened to his detracotrs and most especially to the vile words of Surmak. Since [g348] the throne of the archepiscopate had been promised to him by the *naxarar*s, who were hostilely disposed toward [Artashir] and contentious. For that

reason [Surmak] in self-interest, turned his tongue into a murderous sword. Finally, Vr'am ordered that the kingdom should be taken from Artashir and that he should be confined there and that all the belongings of his clan should be confiscated for the court. [Vr'am] similarly [dealt with] Sahak the Great, and confiscated for the court the House of the *kat'oghikos*, and [ordered] that the throne of the archepiscopate of the Armenians should be given to that very Surmak. Then [King Vr'am] dismissed the *naxarar*s with great gifts and with a Persian *marzpan*, whose name was Vehmihrshapuh.

However, Surmak did not last more than a year before he was chased from the [ecclesiastical] throne by those same *naxarar*s. [Surmak] was found to have received from the king of the Persians the episcopacy of his own district of Bznunik', for himself and [hereditarily] for his clan. Then our *naxarar*s requested from Vr'am another occupant for the position and he gave them a certain Brk'isho, an Assyrian. [Brk'isho] arrived with bad companions, bringing along women to keep house. For three years he led an intemperate and prodigal life, seizing [the monies] from dioceses whose bishops had died. The *naxarar*s, unable to endure this, again beseeched Vr'am to replace him and give them someone else, according to their creed. And half of them requested Sahak the Great [g349] [again].

65.

The release from the Persians of Sahak the Great with his vicar, Samue'l.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 65.

As we have said, the Armenian *naxarar*s were divided in two and each [group] sent to the Persian king requesting a vicar. Vach'e', lord of the Artsrunik' and Hmayeak, lord of Ashots' [were for accepting] whomever the king might choose. But Mane'ch, lord of the Apahunik', and Spandarat, lord of the Arsharunik' [requested] Sahak the Great. Similarly, the Greek general, Anatolis, sent from Karin [the offical named] Hawuk, from Kukayar'ich [with a proposal] that if it did not please him to have [Sahak] in his sector, then he might give him to the Greek sector. The majority of the bishops along with the blessed Masrop and all the clergy of the Church, who sent the priest Tiruk, son of Movsisik, from Zarishat in Vanand with [the same] request. Therefore Vr'am agreed and granted the requests of both [groups]: giving the throne of the archepiscopate to another Assyrian, named Samue'l (Shamue'l), so that he would be a rival and an anti-patriarch to Sahak the Great. The work he defined for him was to help the *marzpan*, supervision of the distribution of collected taxes, [supervision] over the court, and other civil institutions. Releasing Sahak the Great, he left him a few villages from his House, so that he would reside only in his own diocese, having authority only to give the customary religious instruction and to ordain those acceptable to Samue'l [g350].

However, [Vr'am], upon releasing [Sahak] had him brought before him in a full assembly tribunal and said: "I want you to swear by your faith ato remain faithful to our service, not to plan rebellion, not to be deceived into an acceptance of the false faith of the Greeks, not to give us cause to ruin the land of the Armenians, turning our benevolence to wickedness." Then Sahak the Great stood up, having composed himself a dignified and grave demeanor, as if to speak an oration, began with a modest look and an even more modest voice to recall the merits of his service and their own ingratitude. At the same time, he reproached them for the hypocritical sweetness of their words, the bitterness of their thoughts, and the perfidy of their actions. In addition, he refuted the senseless blasphemies uttered [by Vr'am] about sharing the erring faith [of the Greeks]. Lambasting their faith, [Sahak] finished with a marvellous exposition of [Christian] theology, as much as pagan ears could bear. He did not throw before the unbelievers for mocking all the dazzling words, as one might throw pearls to be trampeled before swine. But his speech blazed with lightning, so that the tongues of the mages were reduced to ashes. The king himself was astonished and the entire multitude of elegant Persians at court stood on tiptoe and pricked up their ears. It reached the point that much silver should be given to him as a brave and stout-hearted man who would speak so boldly before such a king [g351].

But he did not accept this, saying to his kinsman of the Surenian Pahlaw: "Let his silver remain with him. But do you convince him to give me only these two things: let him command that the [same] ordering of the Armenian *naxarar*s be preserved—as it had been established from [the time of] Artashir [and maintained] to the present so that the Persian *marzpan*s, [being] informed about this [arrangement] at a higher level will not attempt to change [the protocols] at their own will. The other [matter] is this: let him restore the House of my relative—who is also yours—Hrahat's young son, Gazawon, if not to his own place—since he has such ill will for the Arsacid name, let him at least be counted in the group of those other lords fallen [from their rank] in whatever spot he wants. [This would be] as he deprived his kinsman the Kamsarakans, or the Amatuni, of their patrimonial rank and moving them from the beginning [of the ranks] to the end. Or at least [let Vr'am] trust him and his sons as royal officials until God has mercy and returns the patrimonial rank, by some king. Now try to bewitch him with the art of a true sorcerer."

Vr'am heeded this [advice] and ordered that it all be done. Once again, he established [Sahak's] grandson, the *stratelat* Vardan, in the lordship of his Mamikonean clan. Then [Vr'am] released him to return to the Armenians [g352]. Now should someone say that we ought to write down [everything] said by Sahak the Great in his address to the Persians, let that person realize that we have not accurately heard the entire [speech] from anyone, and we do not want to make up [Sahak's address] in our *History*. I am an old and sick man, constantly engaged in translating, and think only of finishing [this work] as soon as possible, and not about the best style. This is so that your wishes may be realized and I

may be freed from your persistent words and requests. For I consider you to be a man equal to us in compassion, and not, as poets say, that princes are relatives and kindred and even descend from the seed of gods.

66.

The deeds of Samue'l the unworthy colleague of Sahak the Great.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 66.

Samue'l came and occupied the archepiscopal throne, following the behavior of Brk'isho, but with even more greed. He ravished the dioceses not only of dead bishops, but also of living ones. [Samue'l] did not allow Sahak the Great to ordain replacemennts for the deceased ones. As for the living ones, [Samue'l] found feeble excuses—that they were holding back [delivering] the royal taxes—to expel them and seize all their Houses for himself. Therefore all the bishops hated and insulted him. Even though [the bishops] endured thousands of evils from him [g353], they never saw him, except for Surmak, whose diocese was even enlarged by him. What he had taken from many, [Samue'l] entrusted to him. Jealous of this, other bishops dared to do the same, each seeking [permission] from the king of the Persians, with the help of each of their princes.

But Sahak the Great did not cease to nourish the children of the Church with spiritual milk, assisted by Mesrop, whom he had installed in the cathedral church of the city of Vagharshapat. He himself was staying in the district of Bagrewand, in the spot where a light from Heaven had shone forth when Saint Gregory had baptized King Trdat and all the Armenians.

Samue'l, having lived for five years, died in our land. Then all the *naxarar*s assembled together and went to Sahak the Great and, acknowledging their sins, begged him to occupy the [ecclesiastical] throne again. They promised that they would get the Persian king to [re]establish him, and all of them, and [to confirm] by seal and edict that his same power be given to his grandsons. But [Sahak] did not accept this [proposal]. Entreated by many of them, he was impelled to tell them about the vision which had appeared to him in his sleep long ago with revelations about the future. When the *naxarar*s heard it and realized that it was through Divine command that the archepiscopate ended in his lineage, they burst into tears, lamenting themselves according to the Gospel's saying that "It is necessary that offense should come, but woe to those through whom it comes." And then, they left him alone [g354].

67.

The translation from this world of Sahak the Great and blessed Mesrop.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 67.

In the 21st year of the reign of Vr'am the Second, [the monarch] died, leaving the lordship to his son, Yazkert. [Yazkert], forgetting the agreement [he had made], immediately after he came to reign went against the forces of the Greeks who were at Nisibis. He [also] ordered the brigade of Atrpatakan to enter our land. They arrived and encamped in a disorderly manner near Bagnats'-awan [Bagawan, "hamlet of the altars"].

At that point, a fatal illness struck Sahak the Great. His students raised his body and took it to the village called Blur, as a place both native to him and sheltered from the attacks of the Persians that were troubling them. And it was there that the end came upon him. He, who had been the archbishop for 51 years, beginning with the third year of the last Xosrov, king of the Armenians, until the first years of the second Yazkert, king of the Persians, died at the end of the month of Nawasard, on his own birthday. He, who was born a mortal, left an immortal remembrance of himself. He brought honor to the image [of God], and gave himself up to the One Who called [him], changing [his] life for [immortal] life. Now throughout such a [long] life there was nothing lacking in him [even] in old age, nor did he suffer any illness. We would have to [use] majestic [g355] words to [adequately] eulogize such a worthy father. However, lest the length of this chapter tire readers, we will leave that for another place and time outside this book, where we promised to make additions at the beginning [?]

His venerable body was taken by his chief deacon, Eremia, along with his fellow students and the Mamikonean *tikin* ["queen", "princess"] his daughter-in-law, whose name was Dstrik—she was the wife of *stratelat* Vardan. They took [Sahak's body] and buried it in their own village of Ashtishat in the district of Taro'n. Then his students, who were clerics devoted to study, each went to his own district, built monasteries, and assembled brethren.

Six months after the death of Saint Sahak, on the 13th of [the month of] Mehekan [February 17th], the blessed Mesrop also was translated from this world in the city of Vagharshapat. He surpassed everyone in that period in virtuousness. Insolence and obsequiousness never found a place in his way of life. Rather, being gentle, well-disposed, and positive, he showed everyone that he was adorned with the way of heavenly [beings]. He had the appearance of an angel, had a creative mind, brilliant speech, perseverance in deeds [g356], was radiant of body, with indescribable charms, great of advice, his faith upright, his hope long-suffering, sincere in love, tireless in giving instruction.

Since I am not able to describe all his virtues, I will turn my words to [a description of] the burial of his remains. As I heard from many trustworthy men, over the house where the blessed one gave up the ghost there appeared a radiant light, outlining the shape of a

cross. This was not something that quickly faded after appearing, or something witnessed by only a few. Rather, the entire multitude [saw it]. As a result, many unbelievers were baptized. Then noise of confusion arose among the multitude which was divided into three groups concerning the place of burial of this virtuous body, which had prepared for death even before dying. Some said [the body] should be taken to [Sahak's] native district, in Taro'n. Others [said that] it should be buried in Gogh't'n, where he first instructed; still others [wanted him buried] in that very city of Vagharshapat, in the resting place of the saints. But valiant Vahan Amatuni triumphed, since he was powerful in the faith and also in material wealth. For at that time the Persians had entrusted him with [the office of] the *hazarapetut'iwn* of the land of the Armenians. He raised up [Mesrop's] body and took it with a worthy escort to his village [g357] of Oshakan. That same vision of a luminous cross went along over the bier, in the presence of all the people, until Vahan and his servant laid him to rest. Then the sign disappeared. By order of the blessed Mesrop, the archepiscopal throne was occupied by his disciple, the priest Yovse'p' from the village of Xoghots'im in Vayots' dzor, [who sat] as *locum tenens*.

68.

Lament over the elimination of the line of the Arsacids from the kingship of the Armenians and of the archepiscopate, from the line of Saint Gregory.

Classical Armenian text at Internet Archive: 68.

Not translated: *grabar* pages 358-366.

End of the Third Book, concluding the History of Greater Armenia [g366].